

THE
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS
OF
BISHOP ATTERBURY.
WITH
HISTORICAL NOTES BY J. NICHOLS.
VOLUME II.

“How pleasing ATTERBURY’s softer hour!

“How shin’d the soul, unconquer’d in the Tower!” POPE.



L O N D O N:
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MDCCLXXXIX.



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A T T E R B U R Y ' S
EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

L E T T E R CCXVIII.

To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY LORD,

July 6, 1713.

I JUST now received the inclosed *; and beg to know of your Lordship, in what habit I am to be introduced, and in what habit we are to go to St. Paul's afterwards, since the Queen does not go thither †. I hope your Lordship will do me the honour of introducing me ‡, and add that to the many favours you have already conferred on, my Lord, your ever faithful, obliged, and most humble servant, FR. ATTERBURY.

* His writ of summons to Parliament. He had been consecrated Bishop of Rochester, at Lambeth Palace, the day before. See vol. I. p. 467.

† See the following Letter.

‡ Bp Trelawny attended the House on the 7th of July; on which day his friend was introduced, took the usual oaths, and made and subscribed the declaration. Our Author was not once absent during the short remainder of the session, and was ever afterward, when his health permitted, a constant attendant on the duties of Parliament.

CCXIX. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY LORD,

Monday [July 6], four o'clock.

I WRITE this, only to thank your Lordship for putting me in mind of my title *; which else, in my conscience, I should scarce have thought on this day or two. Your Lordship may depend upon it, that the Queen does not go to St. Paul's to-morrow †. However, I will be ready, with the scarlet-robe, at Mr. Battely's in the Cloysters, half an hour before nine to-morrow; and beg your Lordship, when you come to the Bishops' room in the lobby, to send for me to you.

* He had signed the preceding letter by his *old name*.

† It was the Queen's intention to have attended divine service, July 7, the day of public thanksgiving for the peace; but a message was delivered to each House of Parliament the day before, acquainting them, "That her Majesty, not having entirely recovered her strength since her last fit of the gout, and being apprehensive that the fatigue of going to St. Paul's Church, as she intended, may be too great, chuses rather to return her thanks to Almighty God, for the blessings of Peace, in her Chapel at St. James's; but desires that this House will proceed to St. Paul's Church with as much solemnity as if her Majesty was to be in person there." Both Houses attended accordingly, in the manner already described in vol. I. p. 405. The Lords were in their robes. The streets were lined by the train-bands, and between the Maypole and Exeter-Exchange above 4000 charity-children were placed on scaffolds, singing hymns, as was done by the Blue-coat boys in St. Paul's Church-yard, at the time the Members of Parliament passed by. The foot-guards were at the entrance of the Church. The Te Deum was chaunted to the delightful music of Handel; and Bp. Hooper preached. At night there were fire-works on the Thames and in Smithfield, and all other demonstrations of joy throughout the City.

I would

I would not have troubled your Lordship with a second letter, but that I was willing to acknowledge my old obligations to your Lordship under a new name, and upon this occasion first to subscribe myself, *my* Lord, your ever faithful and most humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXX. From Dean SWIFT.

MY LORD,

The Country in Ireland, Aug. 3, 1713.

IT is with the greatest pleasure I heard of your Lordship's promotion; I mean that particular promotion which I believe is agreeable to you *, though it does not mend your fortune. There is but one other change I could wish you, because I have heard you prefer it before all the rest; and that likewise is now ready †, unless it be thought too soon, and that you are made to wait till another person has used it for a step to cross the water ‡. Though I am here in a way of sinking into utter oblivion; for

“ Hæ latebræ nec dulces, nec, si mihi credis amœnæ.”

yet I shall challenge the continuance of your Lordship's favour: and whenever I come to London, shall with

* The Deanry of Westminster.

† The Bishoprick of London was then vacant, by the death of Dr. Compton, who died July 4, 1713.

‡ To Lambeth. Swift certainly mistook the object of Atterbury's wishes. He was not, however, the only one who has made the same mistake. “ The restless Bishop of “ Rochester,” says Dr. Maty in the Life of Lord Chesterfield, “ disappointed in his hopes of a Primacy, with superior “ abilities, a classical purity of language, and an austere dig- “ nity of action, stood forth the champion of a Constitution “ which he attempted to subvert, and of a Church whose

4 ATTERBURY'S EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

with great assurance cross the Park to your Lordship's house at Westminster, as if it were no more than cross-

" principles he possibly disbelieved. . . . The Archbishoprick
 " of York was refused him in one reign; and it is said that
 " he entertained hopes of being bribed with that of Canter-
 " bury in the next." Dr. Warton also, not quite con-
 " sistently with his usual candour, asserts, that " it was with
 " difficulty Queen Anne was persuaded to make Atterbury
 " a Bishop; which she did at last, on the repeated impor-
 " tunities of Lord Harcourt, who pressed the Queen to
 " do it, because she had before disappointed him, in not
 " placing Sacheverell on the Bench. After her decease, At-
 " terbury vehemently urged his friends to proclaim the Pre-
 " tender; and, on their refusal, upbraided them for their
 " timidity with many oaths; for he was accustomed to swear,
 " on any strong provocation." The latter part of this para-
 graph was somewhat too hastily penned, and wants authority.
 —When the incurable breach arose between the two great
 Ministers of Queen Anne, our Bishop took a decided part
 with Bolingbroke. On this occasion, Mr. Lewis tells Dr.
 Swift, Aug. 10, 1714, " The earth has not produced such
 " monsters as Mercurialis [Bolingbroke], and his companion
 " [Harcourt], and the Prelate [Atterbury]. The last openly
 " avows he never had obligations to the Dragon [Oxford],
 " and loads him with ten thousand crimes; though his
 " greatest, in reality, was preferring him."—That Atterbury
 disbelieved the principles of the Church he so strongly sup-
 ported, is an absurdity too gross to need refutation. See,
 however, the letter of Mr. Evans on Mrs. Morice's death;
 and see also the Bishop's will.—It is more than insinuated by
 Dr. Maty, that his ambition extended to York or Canter-
 bury. Yet those who were better acquainted with his views
 knew that Winchester would have been much more desirable
 to him than either of the others. And there are persons still
 living, who have been told, from respectable authority, that
 that Bishoprick was offered to him whenever it should become
 vacant (and till that event should happen, a pension of
 £. 5000. a year, besides an ample provision for Mr. Morice),
 if he would cease to give the opposition he did to Sir Robert
 Walpole's administration, by his Speeches and Protests in
 the House of Lords. When that offer was rejected by the
 Bishop, then the contrivance for his ruin was determined on.
 sing

sing the street at Chelsea *. I talked at this threatening rate so often to you about two years past, that you are not now to forget it.

Pray, my Lord, do not let your being made a Bishop hinder you from cultivating the politer studies, which your heart was set upon when you went to govern Christchurch. Providence has made you successor to a person, who, though of a much inferior genius †, turned all his thoughts that way; and, I have been told, with great success, by his countenance to those who deserved. I envy Dr. Freind ‡ that he has you for his inspector; and I envy you for having such a person in your district, and whom you love so well. Shall not I have liberty to be sometimes a third amongst you, though I am an Irish Dean?

“Verecun in patriâ, crassoque sub aëre natus §.”

A very disordered head hindered me from writing early to your Lordship, when I first heard of your preferment; and I have reproached myself of ingratitude, when I remembered your kindness in sending me a let-

* See vol. I. p. 449.

† The Works of Bp. Sprat, besides his few Poems, are, “The History of the Royal Society;” “The Life of Cowley;” “The Answer to Sorbiere;” “The History of the Rye-house Plot;” “The Relation of his own Examination;” and a volume of “Sermons.”—Dr. Johnson says, “I have heard it observed, with great justness, ‘that every book is of a different kind, and that each has its distinct and characteristic excellence.’ In his poems, he considered Cowley as a model; and supposed that, as he was imitated, perfection was approached.”

‡ Dr. R. Freind, then head-master of Westminster-school.

§ “———— a land of bogs

“With ditches fenc’d, a heaven fat with fogs.”

Juvenal, Sat. X. 75.

ter upon the Deanry they thought fit to throw me into *; to which I am yet a stranger, being forced into the country, in one of my old parishes†, to ride about for a little health. I hope to have the honour of asking your Lordship's blessing some time in October. In the mean while, I desire your Lordship to believe me to be, with very great respect and truth, my Lord, your Lordship's most dutiful and most humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

CCXXI. To Bp. TRELAWNY ‡.

MY GOOD AND EVER HONOURED LORD, Chelsea, Sept. 11, 1713.

I HAVE done my part toward obeying your commands; and, upon an epistle from Wigan §, only chid him a little, and sent him to make his peace with Dr. Freind; who had agreed to receive him upon very easy terms, but thought something was to be done, to hinder the example from spreading, especially since Mr. Tollet's || near approaching death will prevent all farther examination into this matter. He is at the Gravel-pits, ill of an incurable ulcer, and will probably be dead before this letter reaches your hands; however, will not be alive long afterwards. When he is gone, I will take care to supply his place with one who shall discharge it with less severity, and be every way better

* See p. 468.

† Laracor and Rathbeggin.

‡ Indorsed by Bp. Trelawny, "Bishop of Rochester about restoring Wigan to the school."

§ John Wigan, elected in 1714 to Christ-church; M. A. there March 22, 1720.

|| Mr. George Tollett, second master of Westminster-school. He died in 1713.

qualified

qualified for it, and in whose care of your children (as far as it belongs to him) and kindness for them your Lordship may safely confide.

I will own to your Lordship, that I intended to have observed a little more formality with Wigan before I admitted him again. But I found by the seal of your letter, that it came open to Dr. Henchman*; and was not willing he should think that your Lordship's desires were in any degree without effect; and therefore immediately and effectually complied with them. Whenever your Lordship returns the General† to us, you will find all of us, and me in particular, ready to do my best to serve him. I hope to be at my house in three weeks time; and when I am there, he and his brother shall be as welcome to it and me, as my own son: and, I protest to your Lordship, I value my station so much the more, as it gives me an opportunity of being still in some degree serviceable to your family. I am with all my heart sorry to find by the prints that Mr. Trelawny‡ is not in at Looe, and still more sorry for the

* Humphry, LL. D. Commissary of Essex and Hertfordshire; Chancellor of the Diocese of London 1715, and afterward Chancellor also of Rochester. See p. 10.

† See p. 15.

‡ This must have been East Looe; and perhaps the "Mr. Trelawny" here meant was "Harry," the Bishop's nephew (afterward Sir Harry), who had represented that borough in 1708.—John Trelawny the Bishop's eldest son (afterward Sir John) was elected M. P. for Portpigham, otherwise West Looe, at the general election, in September 1713; was made groom of the chamber to his royal highness the Prince of Wales in October 1714; and was afterward several times in parliament, for Leskard, and for East and West Looe. See vol. I. p. 417.

occasion of it. God send that your Lordship may meet with a better account of him than you expect!

As soon as I can decently, I will shew Wigan *, by my usage of him, how much he is beholden to your Lordship's interposition.

I need not mention Mr. Alsop † to your Lordship; because I know your Lordship cannot be unmindful of him. However, since I have mentioned him, give me leave to repeat what I have, I think, already said to your Lordship, that no man ever came under your roof, of more worth, or a better nature, or more likely to be every way acceptable to your Lordship, if I know any thing either of your Lordship or him. It is the first and last request of this kind I shall ever make to your Lordship; and therefore I urge it the more freely.

I am, while I live, your Lordship's ever faithful and most humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXXII. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY GOOD LORD, Westminster, Friday night, late, [Dec. 4, 1713.]

I HEAR your Lordship will be at Serjeants Inn to-morrow morning, on Whiston's affair †, and here at the Abbey between three and four, to assist at the Bishop of Derry's § interment. It will be no ways convenient for your Lordship to go home to Chelsea to dine, and return; and therefore I beg the honour of your Lordship's company here, where you will be

* See p. 6.

† See vol. I, p. 454; and several subsequent letters in this volume.

‡ Which came on before the Council of Delegates Dec. 5, and again Dec. 9, 1713. See p. 10.

§ Dr. Charles Hickman, Bishop of Derry 1702—1713.
ready

ready for the funeral. If your Lordship pleases to come, I will desire the General * and his brother, and Dr. Freind, to bear you company. I the rather wish it, because I shall not otherwise have any opportunity of waiting on your Lordship before you return to Farnham. I am your Lordship's ever faithful and most humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN †.

CCXXIII. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY GOOD AND HONOURED LORD, Westminster, Dec. 19. 1713.

I TAKE this opportunity of returning my hearty thanks to your Lordship for the warrant ‡, when I am going to make use of it, in order to entertain my brethren of this Church; and have for that end inclosed it this post in a letter to Mr. Alsop. The founder is never forgotten by me on other occasions, and will therefore be very particularly remembered on this. I wish your Lordship many happy Christmasses and New-years, and all manner of prosperity to your family. Whiston

* See p. 15.

† On Thursday Dec. 10, Bp. Bisse and Bp. Atterbury were Stewards of the Anniversary Feast of the Sons of the Clergy; when Dr. Sacheverell preached a famous Sermon at St. Paul's. The dinner was at Merchant Taylors Hall, where, according to the Post Boy of Dec. 15, 1713, "as the company was more numerous by much than was ever known upon that occasion, so the design of the day was much better answered; the Stewards having collected in their basons upwards of 200 pounds for charitable uses: which, together with the loud acclamations of the people, as Dr. Sacheverell walked at the head of the Clergymen from the Church to the Hall, is a handsome proof how much sound principles are still cherished, as well by that venerable Society in particular, as by the populace in general."

‡ For a doe, no doubt.

is going to print the proceedings in his cause, as far as they have hitherto gone; and imprudently wrote to Dr. Henchman * for a copy of his pleadings, in order to print them†. They do not talk of the Queen's coming from Windsor yet-a-while. Lord Treasurer ‡ went down thither this day, with Lord Bolingbroke, in his coach; and they are likely to make the same journey together for three Saturdays more.

Lord Chancellor § desires me particularly to assure your Lordship, how uneasy he is at his not being at home, when your Lordship did him the favour more than once of calling upon him. I am to let him know when your Lordship returns hither, that he may immediately wait upon you; which he is extremely desirous of doing. I am your Lordship's ever faithful and most humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXXIV. To Bp. TRELAWNY,

MY LORD,

Westminster, Feb. 13, 1713-14.

THE return § which accompanies this should have been made to your Lordship earlier; but we were at a loss for a precedent, and should have made no re-

* The celebrated Civilian. See p. 7.

† In 1714 he published, "Several Papers relating to Mr. Whitton's Cause before the Court of Delegates; viz. 1. Mr. Whitton's Reasons against that Procedure. 2. The Articles exhibited against him by Dr. Pelling in that Court. 3. Mr. Whitton's Defence of himself from those Articles. To which are added, Three Letters to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, the Rev. Dr. Sacheverell, and Mr. Broughton; with their several Answers."

‡ Harley. § Harcourt. See p. 12.

¶ Of members for the Convocation.

turn,

turn, had not the Archbishop told me yesterday that he insisted upon it. I send this messenger over therefore express to your Lordship, that your Lordship may have time to notify the persons (mentioned in the return) to his Grace before the meeting on Tuesday *. I shall not be there, being obliged, as junior Bishop †, to attend the House of Lords that morning.

I am, with all the respect in the world, your Lordship's ever faithful and obedient servant, FR. ROFFEN.

CCXXV. From Mr. PRIOR.

MY LORD,

Paris, March 23, 1713-14.

AT the same time that I congratulate your succession to the House of Lords, and your being in power to continue your zeal for the Church, and your services to the Nation, I take leave to recommend a private charity to you; that you would take Henry

* The 16th; on which day the Parliament met.

† It is the office of the junior Bishop to read prayers every morning in the House of Peers; a task from which Bp. Atterbury was released on the 5th of April, 1714, when Dr. Smalridge and Dr. Gastrell took their seats as Bishops of Bristol and Chester. Bp. Atterbury preached before the Queen on her accession-day, March 9, 1713-14. He was afterward high in her Majesty's favour. In the Weekly Packet July 31, 1714 (the day before the Queen died), we read, "Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester will be made Lord Privy Seal." On the 24th of August he performed the funeral service as Dean of Westminster. In the same capacity he officiated, Oct. 20, 1714, at the coronation of George I. where it is said, when the ceremony was over, he offered to present the King with the chair of state and royal canopy, which were his perquisites as Dean; but that the offer was rejected, with some marks of personal dislike. See pp. 4. 16.

Chcatt

12 ATTERBURY'S EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

Gheast* (of whose parts and learning Dr. Freind will give your Lordship an account) to our well-beloved college of Christ-church. This is mortification enough for a Cambridge-man to ask; but I persuade myself Dr. Atterbury will not deny my request. I am, with great respect, my good Lord and dear school-fellow, your most obedient and most humble servant, M. PRIOR.

CCXXVI. From Lord Chancellor HARCOURT †.

MY LORD,

Tuesday evening, Aug. 10, 1714.

MY neglect of writing ‡ is inexcuseable. I doubt it may be justly taken as an affront. I am determined now to do it, late as it is. An ill excuse is worse than none. My station § will excuse the presumption. I wish I had your thoughts to-morrow morning, in writing; pray send me two lines, if I must see you no more. To excuse the neglect, to justify the presumption, and not appear mean, under the apprehensions I ought to have of being removed, are matters to be nicely considered.

Your faithful servant, HARCOURT.

Whatever I write, will be certainly shewn.

* Admitted a king's scholar 1710. He was elected to Trinity College Cambridge in 1714.

† Created Viscount Harcourt in 1721. He was great grandfather to the present Earl.

‡ To King George I. who arrived at Greenwich from Hanover the 18th of Sept. following.

§ Which his Lordship did not long retain; being succeeded by Lord Cowper, Sept. 21, 1714.

CCXXVII. To Lord Chancellor HARCOURT.

MY LORD,

Westminster, Aug. 11, 1714.

HAD I any reason to think your Lordship could want my assistance in any thing, I would not stir from the town: but I am far from that vanity. In the present case, I am sure, there is no need of me; for my poor opinion is, that the more plainly and nakedly, and without reserve, your Lordship expresses your mind in that letter, the more welcome it will be.

There is no art requisite, towards giving him * proper assurances that he has not a more faithful subject within his dominions, nor one that desires more to approve himself such by real services; and that you thought the best service you could do at this important juncture was, to make use of any advantage your station might give you, towards uniting the hands and hearts of all his subjects, and securing the quiet of his kingdoms.

There is one way of addressing him indeed, which would require more skill; that is, if your Lordship thought fit to write, not merely as a single person, but in some measure as the head of an interest. This I could wish your Lordship would do; and would take the steps proper to enable you to do it, but I do not find your Lordship so disposed, and therefore am silent on that subject †.

I am your Lordship's ever faithful and obedient servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

* King George the First.

† See p. 4.

CCXXVIII. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Westminster, Jan. 29, 1714-15.

ALMOST ever since I received your Lordship's obliging letter, I have been afflicted with the gout, which confines me still; but I am got well enough to acknowledge your Lordship's favour, and to return my thanks for it, as I do very heartily. However, I have not done troubling your Lordship with my requests. A Clergyman, whose name is Lloyd *, and whom I know to be a worthy good man, has a presentation to a living in your Lordship's diocese, the name of which, I think, is Chawton †, and the place about eight or ten miles from Farnham. He tells me, your Lordship has left no commission for institution behind you; that it is to the utmost degree inconvenient to him to attend your Lordship at Trelawne; and that he fears the six months may run out before your Lordship's return. He humbly hopes, that your Lordship will take no advantage of the lapse; and, I must confess, I thought his request so reasonable, that I promised him to convey it to your Lordship, and to add mine to it, if there was any occasion for such an addition towards making it effectual.

I wish your Lordship and your family health, and all manner of happiness; and am your Lordship's ever faithful and most obedient servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

* The father, possibly, of Dr. Pierson Lloyd: who was afterward for near fifty years one of the Masters of Westminster School; and died, at an advanced age, Oct. 5, 1781.

† A rectory in Hants.

CCXXIX. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY HONOURED LORD, Westminster, Sunday, Feb. 13, 1714-15.

I COMMITTED a mistake in my last, and made but half my request to your Lordship, in behalf of the good man who will have the honour of delivering this letter to your Lordship at Winchester. He wants not only leave from your Lordship to defer his institution for a while, but your Lordship's letter also, intimating to the Archbishop your consent to his holding Chawton in your Lordship's diocese, together with another living he has, within three and twenty miles of it, in Berkshire, of about an hundred pounds a year: Kidbury is the name of it.

Mr. Lloyd is really a pious and deserving man, and one whose character will not disgrace your Lordship, if you please to signify to the Archbishop your consent in his behalf; which I earnestly beg of your Lordship to do; and by that means to compleat the favour which your Lordship intends me in this whole matter. He has a wife and many children; and both these livings will yield but a bare comfortable support to his numerous family.

I communicated to Dr. Freind that part of your Lordship's letter which related to him; who will take the same opportunity that I do of returning his thanks to your Lordship, and of adding his request to mine, in behalf of Mr. Lloyd, being equally with me concerned for his success. The General * and Hele † are now with me, and send their duty to your Lordship.

* See vol. I. pp. 463. 466; vol. II. pp. 7. 9.

† See vol. I. p. 458.

I am, with all respect and gratitude, your Lordship's ever faithful and most obedient servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

I am still confined to my chamber *.

CCXXX.

* From the date of this letter to the next which follow an interval of more than thirteen months, many material events occurred, in which our Author appeared in a light somewhat conspicuous. The records of the transactions alluded to are handed down to us only in the papers of the time; but, as the fidelity of history would be violated were we to pass them over wholly unnoticed, and as every trait that may tend to illustrate the character of Bishop Atterbury will doubtless be acceptable to the readers of this collection, the following particulars are recorded, but not "in malice."

The Rev. Marcus Gibbin, M. A. being Curate of Gravesend in Kent, in June 1715, when the Dutch troops, which came over to quell the Preston rebellion, were quartered there; the officers requested the use of his Church one Sunday morning, for their chaplain to preach to the soldiers, alledging that the like favour had been granted them in every parish in England where they had been quartered on Sundays, and promising that their chaplain should begin at six in the morning, that their service might not interfere with that of the town. The request was granted; the chaplain preached, and his congregation was dismissed before nine o'clock. Bp. Atterbury was so incensed at this prophanation (as he styled it) of the church, by the Dutch Presbyterian worship, that he immediately suspended Mr. Gibbin; but, on his humble submission, by owning his crime and begging pardon, was prevailed on to restore him in about three weeks. The suspension was, however, deemed so injurious by the town of Gravesend, that they subscribed a sum to Mr. Gibbin, more than double the income of the church; and the fact being represented to King George I. he gave him the rectory of Northfleet, in Kent; which living Mr. Gibbin exchanged, Feb. 5, 1722, for the rectory of Birch near Colchester in Essex, where he died July 29, 1752; not only esteemed by his parish, as an excellent preacher, a pious and tender pastor of his flock, but greatly beloved by the neighbouring clergy and gentlemen for his polite and entertaining conversation. His genius, which
was

CCXXX. From Dean SWIFT.

MY LORD,

Dublin, March 24, 1715-16.

AS much as your Lordship's thoughts and time are employed at present, you must give me leave to interrupt them, and, which is worse, for a trifle; though, by the accidents of time and party, of some consequence

was naturally elevated and strong, was much improved by his travels into France, Italy, and other countries, with Mr. Addison. The observations which he made as a traveller he digested into rules of practice, as a Protestant divine, a sound scholar, and a true Briton. See "Political State," vol. XI. p. 736. vol. XII. p. 125, and "Gent. Mag." vol. XXII. p. 384.

During the rebellion in 1715, when the Pretender's declaration was posted up in most market-towns, and in some places his title proclaimed, it was thought proper by most bodies of men to give the Government all possible assurance of their fidelity and allegiance: and accordingly there was published, by authority, November 3, "A Declaration of the Archbishop of Canterbury*, and the Bishops in and near London, testifying their abhorrence of the present Rebellion; and an exhortation to the Clergy and People under their care, to be zealous in the discharge of their duties to his Majesty King George." They owned, "that the Clergy and People of the Church of England were the more concerned to shew themselves hearty for the Government, to vindicate the honour of the Church, because some who had valued themselves, and been too much valued by others, for a pretended zeal for the Church, had ungratefully joined with Papists in an unnatural Rebellion against their rightful and lawful, good and gracious Prince, who lived in the constant communion of the Church, who had given his oath and repeated royal word to protect it, who had not, by any thing he had done, given the least reason to suspect the contrary, and whose title and government they had often bound themselves to defend and maintain, by their addresses and oaths, both before and since his Majesty's accession to the Crown." The several Bishops who

* Dr. Thomas Tenison.

consequence and great vexation to me. I am here at the head of three-and-twenty Dignitaries and Prebendaries, whereof the major part, differing from me in prin-

signed this paper were, those of London ^a, Winchester ^b, Lichfield and Coventry ^c, Peterborough ^d, Sarum ^e, Bangor ^f, Lincoln ^g, Norwich ^h, Ely ⁱ, Chichester ^k, Gloucester ^l, St. Asaph ^m, and Oxford ⁿ. The Bishop of Worcester ^o sent afterward a Letter, together with the Declaration, to all the Clergy of his Diocese, wherein he lamented "that he had not an opportunity to join in so excellent a work;" but said, "that, to testify his hearty approbation of it, he had caused a great number of them to be printed, and distributed to all the Clergy in his Diocese, and enjoined them to read it audibly in their Churches and Chapels in time of full Congregation." The Bishop of Rochester ^p, and by his instigation the Bishop of Bristol ^q, refusing to sign it, on pretence of "a just offence taken at some unbecoming reflections cast on a party not inferior to any," they said, "in point of loyalty;" a bantering pamphlet was published Dec. 8, 1715, and again in a new edition Jan. 3, 1715-16, intituled, "Bishop Atterbury's and Bishop Smalridge's Reasons for not signing the Archbishop of Canterbury's and the other Bishops' Declaration, with Considerations on the Bishop of London's Letter to his Clergy immediately after his Lordship's signing the said Declaration." And on the 28th of January, 1715-16, a similar pamphlet was circulated, under the title of "A Defence of the Right Reverend Bishops of Rochester and Bristol; being a full Answer to a late virulent Pamphlet, intituled, Bishop Atterbury's and Bishop Smalridge's Reasons," &c. Feb. 15, 1715-16, appeared a pamphlet, called, "FRANK SCAMMONY* ; or, The Restoring Clergy detected in their

^a Dr. John Robinson.

^c Dr. Edward Chandler.

^e Dr. William Talbot.

^g Dr. William Wake.

ⁱ Dr. William Fleetwood.

^l Dr. Richard Willis.

ⁿ Dr. John Potter.

^p Dr. Francis Atterbury.

^b Sir Jonathan Trelawny.

^d Dr. Richard Cumberland.

^f Dr. John Evans.

^h Dr. Charles Trimmell.

^k Dr. Thomas Mauningham.

^m Dr. John Wynne.

^o Dr. William Lloyd.

^q Dr. George Smalridge.

* Under this name the Bishop had before been lampooned, in a Ballad called "The Vagabond Tories," Flying Post, Aug. 20, 1715.

"Names,

principles, have taken a fancy to oppose me upon all occasions in the Chapter-house ; and a ringleader among them hath presumed to debate my power of proposing,
or

“ Names, Haunts, Plots, Heresies, and lewd Conversation;
“ in a Sermon upon these words, ‘ Her Priests have vio-
“ lated my Law, and I am profaned among them,’ Ezek. xxii.
“ 16 ; occasioned by a certain Bishop’s swearing, ‘ We
“ will have the Pretender by God !’ To which is added,
“ The Pulpit Trumpeter, or the Substance of all the Treason-
“ able Sermons that have been preached at White-chapel
“ by that passive Rebel (Dr. Welton), that drinks a Health
“ to the Fatherless Child and the Widow : Attested by two
“ of his constant Hearers. The Sermon (with all the Dis-
“ coveries) dedicated to that pious, loyal, and healing
“ Prelate, Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester. By Mr.
“ John Dunton, Author of the late Essay, intituled, The
“ Manifesto of King John the Second, declaring, he has
“ fairer Pretensions to be sole Monarch of Great-Britain,
“ than that Popish Impostor that styles himself James the
“ Third.”

When the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Arran stood Candidates for the High-stewardship of Westminster, in the room of the Duke of Ormond, Feb. 28, 1715-16, the votes on both sides were equal, till Bishop Atterbury (as Dean) gave a casting vote against the Duke. The “ Flying Post” of March 8, thus flamingly relates the story: “ The Dean and Chapter of Westminster proceeded last week to an election of a High Steward. His Grace the Duke of Newcastle was put up as a Candidate by several Reverend and Loyal Divines, in consideration of his Grace’s known loyalty to King George, and affection to his Country. But these qualifications were overlooked by some persons, who were resolved beforehand to chuse the Earl of Arran, Brother to James Butler, once Duke of Ormond, in whose stead the said Earl was lately chosen Chancellor of the University of Oxford, where Owen Sullivan, Whitty, and the rest of the traytors were harboured, where the Pretender was proclaimed, and where Con. Phipps was made a Doctor. The Votes stood thus : For his Grace the Duke of Newcastle; Dr. Bradford, Dr. Lyndford, Dr. Dent, Dr. Gee, Dr. Canon, Mr. Watson.—For the Earl of Arran; Dr.

or my negative, though it is what the Deans of this Cathedral have possessed for time immemorial, and what hath never been once disputed. Our constitution
was

“ South, Dr Onley, Dr. Kimberley, Mr. Evans, Mr. Sprat, Dr. Broderick.—The votes being equal, one may easily imagine that Francis Atterbury, D. D. Dean of Westminster, and Bishop of Rochester, gave the casting vote for the Earl (who was chosen accordingly), in opposition to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, his great fortune, and his truly British principles.” The Speech which Bp. Atterbury made on that occasion, or what was pretended to be his Speech, was published in a two-penny pamphlet; which the “London Post” of March 17 has thus detailed, in a way there is no great reason to suppose to be far different from what the Bishop really made: “Happy is it for me, that I have a vote to give upon so extraordinary an occasion; whereby I can in some measure, though very small, testify my respects of gratitude to the Duke of Ormond, who has so eminently served his Country, and who has so remarkably distinguished himself by his loyalty and by his behaviour to that University over which he so long and so honourably presided. For whom, therefore, can I more deservedly give a vote, than for the Brother of this illustrious and truly valuable Nobleman? And accordingly I do give my vote for the Right Honourable the Lord Arran.” The publisher’s introduction also, though somewhat ludicrous, shall be copied below, as a specimen of the violence of party*:

* “THE great services which the late Duke of Ormond has done for his Country, will always keep his memory fresh and fragrant in the minds of every lover of Old England. It was he, who fought against the French at Landen and several other places. It was he, who took Port St. Mary’s, which his brave soldiers plundered and burnt; and it was he, who afterwards followed Sir Thomas Hardy into Vigo, where the Spanish West India Fleet was destroyed, and a vast quantity of cochineal, snuff, &c. was made prize. What need one say any thing particular of this (late) noble Duke? One must not say what one would; and therefore I shall only put all good Britons in mind, that it was he who was the most famous Chancellor of the University of Oxford; for which he is still highly esteemed by the most famous among the Clergy, as the Reverend Dr. Sacheverell, the Reverend Mr. Trapp, the Reverend Mr. Smith, the Reverend Mr. Milbourne, and all the Reverend Clergymen who have been steady in the worst of times. It was he, the late Duke, I wish I could call him his Grace still, that commanded the Confederate Army in Flanders, in the glorious campaign of the year 1712. It was he that scorned the wheedles
and

was taken from that of Sarum; and the knowledge of what is practised there in the like case would be of great use to me. I have written this post to Dr. Younger,

and threats of the Dutch, and others who delight in war; and who stuck close to all the Queen's wise and honourable measures, for that very safe, honourable, and lasting peace which we now enjoy, and might have enjoyed to purpose had it not been for certain persons that shall be nameless. It was he, the late Duke of Ormond, who was High Steward of Westminster; and it was Mr. John Huggins who was his Head Bailiff; and it was the very same Mr. John Huggins who was Solicitor for the very Reverend Dr. Sacheverell beforementioned. It was, I say, the late Duke of Ormond, who was High Steward of Westminster: and why he is not so still, who can tell? For my part, I cannot see why he might not be as good an High Steward as he was a General; but we cannot have every thing as we would, else I should have had no need to publish this Paper at this time. His late Grace the Duke of Ormond being no longer either Chancellor of the University of Oxford, or High Steward of the City of Westminster; it was thought proper, by the renowned University, and the Right Reverend the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, to fill the vacancies which his Grace had left. And, first, the University chose the Right Honourable the Earl of Arran their Chancellor, as being his late Grace's Brother in all good principles and all good practices. And the Dean and Chapter of Westminster meeting to choose a High Steward; some were for the Duke of Newcastle; these said, he was a Duke of a vast estate; that he was generous, loyal, and a true Son of the Church: But others were for the Earl of Arran; they said, he was a staunch Churchman, that he was Chancellor of Oxford already, that he was Brother to his late Grace the Duke of Ormond; and so the election came on. Now there were twelve electors, besides the Dean and Chapter; these assembled at the Chapter-house, being all Prebendaries of Westminster. The number of Twelve is very remarkable, in speaking of Ministers of the Gospel and Prebendaries; for there were Twelve Apostles, and they had but One Judas amongst them. There was therefore no majority on the right side, but it was just so many and so many: and it is well it was so, for otherwise we had not had an opportunity to oblige the world with the Speech, to which this is only an introduction. When they came to vote, Dr. South was brought in a chair, being so old he could not walk; and Mr. Lawrence Broderick came close after him. Mr. Broderick is a very Reverend Divine. He was Chaplain to that House of Commons who impeached the very Reverend Dr. Sacheverell, who all the world knows had nothing done to him at last. Mr. Broderick was Chaplain when Sir Richard Onslow was Speaker; but Mr. Broderick is a man of too much sagacity and resolution to be swayed by any man to vote against his conscience. Now Mr. Broderick's conscience bid him vote for the late Duke of Ormond's noble Brother, and Mr. Broderick by so doing made the votes when they were cast up stand thus:—For his Grace the Duke of Newcastle; Dr. Bradford, Dr. Lyndford, Dr. Gee, Dr. Dent, Dr. Cannon, Mr. Watson.—For the Right Honourable the Earl of Arran; Dr. South, Dr. Onley, Dr. Kimberley, Mr. Broderick, Mr. Sprat, Mr. Evans.—I could say much more of all these Prebendaries; but I have not room to speak of every one of them. Dr. South is the same man who 15 years ago wrote against Dr. Sherlock, who could say nothing against him but that he was a Sabellian; and

Younger *, to desire he would inform me in this matter; but, having only a slender acquaintance with him, I would beg your Lordship to second my request, that the Dean would please to let me know the practice of his Cathedral, and his power in this point. I would likewise desire your Lordship to let me know how it is at Westminster, and the two other Cathedrals with whose customs you may be acquainted.

Pray,

* D. D. of Magdalen College, Oxford. He obtained the Deanry of Salisbury in 1705.—“ When Dr. Younger was abroad upon his travels, he passed some time at the Court of Hanover, where he was well received and esteemed, by the Princess Sophia and her family, before ever they came into England. When George I. succeeded to the throne, Dr. Younger was Dean of Salisbury, Residentiary of St. Paul’s, and Deputy Clerk of the Closet, in which station he had served under Queen Anne, and was continued under George I. The King was very glad to renew his acquaintance with him; and in the closet, as he stood waiting behind his chair, turned often and talked with him; and the more, as Dr. Younger did, what few could do, converse with the King in High Dutch. The King used to call him *his little Dean*, and was so condescending and gracious to him, that he was looked upon, in some

and he might as well have called him a Hottentot. Dr. Onley has been a Prebendary many years, and is well known to be as orthodox as one could wish. Dr. Kimberley was Chaplain to that House of Commons that passed the Bill of Occasional Conformity. Mr. Sprat was son to the Bishop of Rochester, predecessor to the present Bishop.—I might add many things more to their characters; but what I have said is enough, to shew they were men not to be biased by those things which now-a-days men are apt to be led away by.—As for the other Prebendaries, I shall say nothing of them. It is plain what they are, by their voting as they did; and that is enough for my present purpose.—Thus it came to the High Reverend the Dean’s turn to give his vote. If there had been seven to five, then the Bishop and Dean would have had no right to vote at all; but it being six to six, he, as head of all the twelve Prebendaries, was to decide the matter by his casting vote; and since it was a casting vote, he very prudently made a speech to them all, in the presence of several good Churchmen; one of whom had it up in his memory so carefully, that, he says, he believes he has hardly missed a word of it, at least not a word that signifies a great deal. And it is therefore such a treasure, that all who love the Church, and the Duke of Ormond will certainly be very fond and very proud of it.”

Pray, my Lord, pardon this idle request from one that loves and esteems you, as you know I do. I once thought it would never be my misfortune to entertain you at so scurvy a rate, at least not at so great a distance, or with so much constraint :

“ Sis felix, nostrumque leves [I do not like *quicunque* *]

“ laborem :

“ measure, as a favourite, and likely to rise to higher pre-
 “ ferment. This was by no means agreeable to the Minis-
 “ ters ; for Dr. Younger was reputed to be what they called
 “ a Tory ; and a letter of office was sent to dismiss him, the
 “ King having no farther occasion for his service. It was not
 “ long before the King missed him, and asked ‘ What was
 “ become of his little Dean, that now he never saw him ?’—
 “ It was answered, ‘ That he was dead.’—‘ Dead !’ said the
 “ King, ‘ I am sorry for it ; for I meant to do something for
 “ him.’ This the Ministers understood well enough ; and
 “ therefore had removed him out of the way. Such an im-
 “ position, one would think, could hardly be put upon any
 “ Prince. It was a bold stroke, even when the King was a
 “ stranger to our people, and a stranger to our language ; but
 “ even then it did not escape detection. For, some time after,
 “ the King went a progress into the West of England ; and
 “ among other places was at Salisbury ; and in the cathedral
 “ there seeing the Dean, he called him eagerly up to him,
 “ and said, ‘ My little Dean, I am glad to see you alive ;
 “ they told me you were dead : but where have you been all
 “ this while, and what has prevented my seeing you as usual ?’
 “ He mentioned the letter of dismissal he had received ; and
 “ said, ‘ He thought it would ill become him after that to
 “ give his Majesty any further trouble.’—‘ Oh !’ said the
 “ King, warmly, ‘ I perceive how this matter is ; but—
 “ with an oath—you shall be the first Bishop that I will
 “ make.’ But it happened that Dr. Younger, being advanced
 “ in years, died before any Bishop, so that he never obtained the
 “ good effects of the King’s gracious intentions.” Bp. NEW-
 “ TON.—He died Feb. 27, 1727-8, and was buried under the
 “ South aisle of St. Paul’s Cathedral, without any monument.

* The *quæcunque* of Virgil was more favourable to the zealous admirers of the memory of Queen Anne.

24 ATTERBURY'S EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

"Et quo sub cœlo tandem, quibus orbis in oris

"Jactemur, doceas *."

The greatest felicity I now have is, that I am utterly ignorant of the most public events that happen in the world :

"Multa gemens † ignominiam plagasque," &c.

I am, with the greatest respect and truth, my Lord,
your Lordship's most dutiful and most humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

CCXXXI. To Dr. SWIFT.

GOOD MR. DEAN,

Bromley, April 6, 1716.

MY gout kept me so long a prisoner at Westminster this winter, that I have fixed at Bromley this spring much sooner than ever I yet did; for which reason my meeting with Dr. Younger will be more difficult than it would be had I been still at the Deanry ‡.

The best (or rather the worst) is, that I believe he can say nothing to you upon the matter about which you write, which will please you. His Deanry is of the old foundation; and in all such foundations the Deans have no extraordinary power or privilege, and are nothing more than Residentiaries, with a peculiar corps belonging to them as Deans; the first of the Chapter, but such whose presence is not necessary towards the dispatch of any one capitular act, the senior Residentiary

* "But tell a stranger, long in tempests tofs'd,

"What earth we tread, or WHO COMMANDS THE COAST."

Dryden's Virgil, Æn. i. 457.

† This phrase seems to have been deeply impressed on the Dean's mind. He uses it again, in a letter to Mr. Pope, Oct. 30, 1727; "I forgave Sir Robert a thousand pounds, "*multa gemens*." The line above is from Virg. Georg. iii. 226.

‡ Of Westminster.

supplying

supplying their absence, in every case, with full authority. Thus, I say, the case generally is in the old Deanries, unless where the local statutes may have expressly reserved some peculiar power or privilege to the Deans of those Churches. But none of them, I dare say, have a negative, either by common law, custom, or local statute. Thus much to shew you that a nice search into the peculiar rights of the Dean of Sarum will be needless, if not mischievous to you.

The three Deanries* which I have had are all of the new foundation, by Henry VIII. or Queen Elizabeth. In the charters of all three is a clause, empowering the Dean to make, punish, and unmake, all the officers. In the statutes of one of them (Carlisle) the Dean's consent, in all the *graviores causæ*, is made expressly necessary; and in the other two, nothing from the foundation of those Churches ever passed the seal without the Dean's *sigilletur* first written on the lease, patent, presentation, &c. which is a manifest and uncontested proof of his negative. As to the power of proposing, that I apprehend not to be exclusive to the other members of Chapters. It is a point chiefly of decency and convenience; the Dean being the principal person, and supposed best to be acquainted with the affairs of the Church, and in what order they are fittest to be transacted. But if any one else of the Body will propose any thing, and the rest of the Chapter will debate it, I see not how the Dean can hinder them, unless it be by leaving the Chapter; and that itself will be of no moment in Churches where his absence doth not break

* Carlisle, Christ Church, and Westminster.

up and dissolve the Chapter; as it does where his consent to any thing there treated of is expressly required before it can pass into an act. Where, indeed, he is allowed such a negative, he is generally allowed to make all proposals; because it would be to no purpose for any one to make a proposition which he can quash by a dissent: but this is not, I say, a matter of right, but prudence.

Upon the whole, the best advice I can give you is, whatever your powers are by statute or usage, not to insist on them too strictly, in either of the cases mentioned by you, unless you are very sure of the favour and countenance of your Visitor. The lawyers, you will find, whenever such points come before them for a decision, are very apt to disregard statutes and custom in such cases; and to say, that their books make the act of the majority of the Corporation the legal act of the Body, without considering whether the Dean be among the minority or no. And therefore your utmost dexterity and address will be necessary, in order to prevent such a trial of your right at common law; which it is ten to one (especially as things now stand) will go against you. If the refractory part of your Chapter are stout, and men of any sense, or supported underhand (the last of these is highly probable), you had better make use of expedients to decline the difficulty, than bring it at present to a decision. These are the best lights, and this the best advice, I can give you, after a long experience of the natural consequence of such struggles, and a careful search into the foundation of the powers and privileges claimed and disputed on
the

the one side and the other*. I wish I could say any thing more to your satisfaction, but I cannot; and I think, in all such cases, the best instance I can give you of my friendship is, not to deceive you.

There is a statute † in the latter end of King Henry the Eighth's reign, worthy of your perusal. The title of it relates to the leases of hospitals, &c.; and the tenor of it did, in my apprehension, seem always to imply that without the Dean, Master, &c. nothing could be legally done by the Corporation. But the lawyers will not allow this to be good doctrine; and say, that statute (notwithstanding a constant phrase of it) determines nothing of this kind; and, at the most, implies it only

* "The turbulent and imperious temper of this haughty
" Prelate ‡ was long felt and remembered in the College over
" which he presided." Dr. WARTON.—"The impetuous
" and despotic manner in which Dr. Atterbury resolved to
" carry every thing, made his opponents more tenacious of
" their rights, and inclinable to make fewer concessions, the
" more he endeavoured to grasp at power. His friend Dr.
" Smalridge, who succeeded him both at Carlisle and Christ
" Church, is said to have lamented his hard fate, in being
" forced to carry water after him, to extinguish the flames
" which his litigiousness had every where occasioned."
STACKHOUSE.—In the first of the pamphlets described in
p. 19. mention is made of "his brawls with the Canons of
" Christ Church when he was Dean there, and of his suit
" with the parish of St. Margaret's Westminster, and his dis-
" pute with the Prebendaries when he was Dean there too."
The "Biographia" does not particularize these disputes.

† 33 Henry VIII. c. 27.

‡ His friend Swift, in one of his poems, mentions.

"St. John's spirit loose, and Atterbury's rage."

The circumstance already cited from Dr. Warton (see above, p. 4.) is thus detailed by Dr. Maty, in a transcript from the papers of Dr. Birch:
"Lord Harcourt, leaving the old Ministry, provoked Atterbury's abusive
" tongue. He, in return, declared, that, on the Queen's death, the Bishop
" came to him and to Lord Bolingbroke, and said, nothing remained but to
" proclaim K. J. He further offered, if they would give him a guard, to
" put on his lawn sleeve, and lead the procession."

as to such Deanries, &c. where the Dean, Master, &c. have the right of a negative by statute or usage. And few lawyers there are who will allow even thus much. I cannot explain myself farther on that head; but, when you peruse the statute, you will see what I mean; though, after all, it does not, I believe, include Ireland. However, I look upon it as a declaration of the common law here in England.

I am sorry you have any occasion to write to me on these heads, and much sorer that I am not able to give you any tolerable account of them. God forgive those who have furnished me with this knowledge, by involving me designedly into those squabbles! I thank God, I have forgiven them. I will enter into nothing but the enquiries of your letter; and therefore add not a word more, either in English or Latin, but that I am, with great esteem, good Mr. Dean, your very affectionate humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXXXII. From Dean SWIFT.

MY LORD,

April 18, 1716.

I AM extremely obliged to your Lordship for the trouble you have given yourself in answering at length a very insignificant letter. I shall entirely follow your Lordship's advice, to the best of my skill. Your conjectures from whence my difficulties take their rise are perfectly true. It is all party. But the right is certainly on my side, if there be any thing in constant immemorial custom. Besides, though the first scheme of this Cathedral was brought from Sarum, yet, by several subsequent grants, from Popes, Kings, Archbishops, and Acts of Parliament, the Dean has great prerogatives. He visits the Chapter as Ordinary, and the

the Archbishop only visits by the Dean. The Dean can suspend and sequester any member, and punishes all crimes except heresy, and one or two more reserved for the Archbishop. No lease can be let without him. He holds a court-leet in his district, and is exempt from the Lord Mayor, &c. No Chapter can be called but by him, and he dissolves them at pleasure. He disposes absolutely of the Petty Canons and Vicars Choral places. All the Dignitaries, &c. swear canonical obedience to him. These circumstances put together, I presume, may alter the case in your Lordship's judgement. However, I shall, as your Lordship directs me, do my utmost to divert this controversy as much as I can. I must add one thing, that no Dignitary can preside without a power from the Dean, who, in his absence, makes a Sub-dean, and limits him as he pleases. And so much for Deanries, which I hope I shall never trouble your Lordship with again.

I send this inclosed, and without superscription, to be sent or delivered to you by a famous friend of mine, and devoted servant of your Lordship's.

I congratulate with England for joining with us here in the fellowship of *slavery*. It is not so terrible a thing as you imagine; we have long lived under it; and whenever you are disposed to know how you ought to behave yourselves in your new condition, you need go no further than me for a director. But, because we are resolved to go beyond you, we have transmitted a bill to England, to be returned here, giving the government and six of the council power for three years to imprison whom they please for *three months*, without any
trial

trial or examination: and I expect to be among the first of those upon whom this law will be executed. We have also outdone you in the business of Ben Hoadly; and have recommended to a Bishoprick one * whom you would not allow a Curate in the smallest of your parishes. Does your Lordship know that, as much as I have been used to lies in England, I am under a thousand uneasinesses about some reports relating to a person † that you and I love very well? I have writ to a Lady ‡ upon that subject, and am impatient for an answer. I am gathering up a thousand pounds, and intend to finish my life upon the interest of it in Wales.

God Almighty preserve your Lordship *miseris succurrere rebus*, whether you understand or relish Latin or no. But it is a great deal your fault if you suffer us *all to be undone*; for *God never gave such talents without expecting they should be used to preserve a nation*. There is a Doctor § in your neighbourhood to whom I

* Dr. Charles Carr, Bishop of Killaloe. † See pp. 3, 4.

‡ Lady Bolingbroke; who, in her answer, dated Aug. 4, 1716, says, "To my misfortune, I am still kept in town, soliciting my unfortunate business. I have found great favour from his Majesty. But form is a tedious thing to wait upon. Since it is my fate, I must bear it with patience, and perfect it if I can; for there is nothing like following business one's self. I am unwilling to stir without the seals, which I hope to have soon. I hope, one time or other, his Majesty will find my Lord has been misrepresented; and, by that means, he may be restored to his country once more with honour; or else, however harsh it may sound out of my mouth, I had rather wear black."

§ Dr. R. Freind; from whom there is a letter to Swift in the Dean's Works, in which he says, "The Bishop [Atterbury] and my brother are much yours, and very desirous of a happy meeting with you. Before this can be with you, you will be able to guess how soon that may happen."

am a very humble servant. I am, with great respect,
your Lordship's most dutiful, &c. J. SWIFT.

Some persons go this summer for England; and if
Dr. Younger be talked with, I hope you will so order
it that it may not be to my disadvantage *.

CCXXXIII. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY LORD,

Thursday-morning, May 3, 1716.

I AM really so much indisposed by a long course of
eating and drinking, that I am not able to wait
upon your Lordship to-day; but will take another
time of doing it, when I am a little relieved from my
present uneasiness. Before I return to Bromley, I will
be sure to find your Lordship out at Chelsea, and re-
turn my own thanks, and the thanks of all those that
love the school, for the honour your Lordship did us
on Tuesday †.

* This seems to imply a wish in Swift to exchange his
Deanry of St. Patrick's for that of Sarum.

† "On Monday April 30, 1716, in the presence of the
" Bishop of Rochester, the Dean of Christ-church in Ox-
" ford, and of the Master of Trinity College Cambridge,
" there was a draught made out of the foremost Scholars of
" Westminster School. Four were pitched upon, and
" nominated to be sent to each University. They then
" performed the ceremony of delivering Latin Orations;
" during which time, a person dressed well, and that carried
" the appearance of a gentleman, was caught in the Act of
" picking a gold snuff box out of the pocket of another gen-
" tleman who was one of the audience. The Scholars secured
" him peaceably till the Orations were finished, and then
" afterwards drew themselves out in order for the administra-
" tion of justice; and, arming themselves with rods, they
" stripped the fellow, gave him a pretty handsome gauntlet
" among them; and when they had schooled him into bet-
" ter principles, they set him a-going." Weekly Packet,
May 5, 1716.

Your

Your Lordship continues to pursue me with obligations, in whatever post I am. None of them shall be ever forgot by him that is, with great respect and gratitude, your Lordship's ever faithful and most obedient humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXXXIV. To WILLIAM MORICE *, Esq.

DEAR MR. MORICE,

Bromley, Monday morn, 1716.

I THANK you kindly for your letter, but see not how that advertisement † can possibly concern me. I have seen none of my neighbours but Mr. Bagshaw ‡ and

* The husband of his favourite daughter.

+ What this advertisement was, we are not able to ascertain, though a large collection of contemporary news-papers hath been diligently searched for that purpose. The Letter being dated so loosely as it is, makes it difficult to ascertain the exact day.

‡ The Rev. Harrington Bagshaw, M. A. many years vicar of Bromley, and proctor in Convocation for the Clergy of the diocese of Rochester. He was chaplain to Bp Sprat, who nominated him to the curacy of Bromley, and collated him to the rectory of Woolwich; and, by the same interest, he became chaplain of Bromley College, Nov. 17, 1696, under the appointment of the trustees authorised by a decree of commissioners of charitable uses for the county of Kent, dated June 19, 1693; the place being vacant by the removal of John Brabourne. He married Abigail, daughter of Thomas Bulby knt. of Addington, by whom he had a son, Thomas Bagshaw, M. A. who was appointed by the trustees chaplain of Bromley College, on his father's resignation, Feb. 18, 1734; was licensed to the perpetual curacy of Bromley, June 3, 1744, and resigned it about Midsummer 1785. He also ceded the rectory of Addington, co. Bucks, on being collated, in January 1779, to the rectory of Southfleet; and died, Dec. 20, 1787, at the age of 77. A just character of him is given at large, by a clergyman of the diocese of Rochester, in the Kentish Gazette. Tuesday, Dec. 11, 1787; and see Gent. Mag. vol.

and Mr. Swift, having sent to none, and given it out that I desire to be private*. So no discourse of mine here can have given occasion for any information. Whatever it be, let it take its course; the less we meddle in it, the better; and therefore I desire you by no means to think of satisfying your curiosity, by enquiring for *number ten*. All I should think proper to do in that case is, if there were any public or other house over against the King's Arms in the Pall-mall,

I might

vol. LVII. pp. 1127. 1191.—The original salary of the chaplain (who must have been a member of Magdalen College, Oxford,) by the will of Bishop Warner, was to be 50 l. a year. It has received an augmentation of 10 l. payable out of one or both of the liberal donations of Mr. Hetherington and Bp. Pearce; and the late Mr. Bagshaw has bequeathed to his successors the interest of 100 l. three per cent. Bank annuities.

* On the 6th of August 1716, the Dean and Chapter of Westminster set out on a progress into several counties, to hold courts, let leases, &c. and were attended out of town by numbers of the inhabitants on horseback.

In the preceding month, our Bishop, as Dean of Westminster, had officiated at Dr. South's funeral (see vol. I. p. 183.)

“ Upon the 8th day of this instant departed this life the
 “ Reverend and learned Dr. Robert South, Prebendary of
 “ Westminster, and Canon of Christ-church, Oxford; whose
 “ discourses and actions will cast an immortal glory about his
 “ name and memory. He was a true friend to Monarchy, even
 “ when Rebellion was successful, and Faction meritorious. He
 “ was not only a Son, but a Father to the Church of England.
 “ Sincere and hearty to her friends, and ever bold and un-
 “ daunted in the defence of Truth and Loyalty; wherein his
 “ arguments appear to be so solid and nervous, that as few
 “ have come near him, so none have ever excelled him.
 “ His charity to the poor was large and extensive, and the
 “ greatest part of it industriously concealed. whereby we may
 “ be assured, that he found greater satisfaction in the duty,
 “ than he could propose from the title, of a generous and
 “ public benefactor. To describe his character fully, ought
 “ only to be attempted by a person that is blessed with such a

VOL. II. D “ there

I might make James (without his livery) take his stand there to-morrow and Wednesday at the time appointed, and observe who of this place goes into that tavern: for James knows them all. But perhaps this itself would be improper, and turn to no account. However, I desire you to see if there be such a place where he can fix himself without suspicion; and, if there be, to give yourself the trouble of a new messenger to me, either to night, or to-morrow morning before seven. If

I hear

“ share of wit and devotion as he enjoyed: but until then,
 “ read those excellent volumes of his, which are already extant; wherein you will find the Divine, the Orator, the
 “ Casuist, and the Christian drawn by his own, and the best
 “ hand, because by his. He died in the 83d year of his age.”

Post Boy, July 14, 1716.

“ Yesterday the corpse of Dr. South (after having some time
 “ lain in a decent manner in the Jerusalem Chamber) was
 “ brought into the College Hall; where being placed, a Latin
 “ Oration was spoken by Mr. John Garber, the present Captain
 “ of the School; after which it was attended to the Church by
 “ the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Rochester Dean of
 “ Westminster, the Reverend the Prebendaries who are in
 “ town, the Reverend the Masters, the Scholars, the whole
 “ Choir, and all other servants belonging to that Royal
 “ Foundation; together with many Reverend and Worthy
 “ Members of that venerable Body of Christ-church in Ox-
 “ ford. Upon their entry into the Abbey, the Choir per-
 “ formed the part of the funeral-service, till the body was
 “ placed in the middle of the Church; after which followed
 “ Evening Prayers, and an Anthem suitable to the solemn
 “ occasion, being the same which was sung at the funeral of
 “ her late Gracious Majesty Queen Anne, composed by Dr.
 “ William Croft. Prayers being ended, he was attended in
 “ the same manner to the grave near the steps of the Altar,
 “ adjoining to the late Dr. Bulby's; where the Choir per-
 “ formed the remaining part of the Burial-service, composed
 “ by the late Mr. Henry Purcell and Dr. Croft; the Right
 “ Reverend the Dean performing the last office.” Ibid. July 17.

The

I hear nothing from you on that head, I shall think no more of the matter; and perhaps the wisest thing I could do, would be not to think at all of it: for it is either designed as an amusement if it relates to me, or else I am altogether unconcerned in it.

My blessing to Mrs. Morice: my wife sends hers to both of you. I am your affectionate father, FR. ROFFEN.

The following ludicrous letter was soon after circulated:

"SIR, King's College, Westminster, Aug. 3, 1716.

"YOU are desired to acquaint the publick, that a certain Bookfeller near Temple-bar (not taking warning by the frequent drubs that he has undergone for his often pirating other mens copies) did lately (without the consent of Mr. John Barber, present Captain of Westminster School) publish the scraps of a Funeral Oration, spoken by him over the corpse of the Reverend Dr. South. And being on Thursday last fortunately nabbed within the limits of Dean's Yard by the King's Scholars, there he met with a College salutation: for he was first presented with the ceremony of the blanket, in which when the skeleton had been well shook, he was carried in triumph to the School; and, after receiving a grammatical correction for his false concords, he was re-conducted to Dean's Yard, and on his knees, asking pardon of the aforesaid Mr. Barber for his offence, he was kicked out of the Yard, and left to the huzza's of the rabble. I am, Sir, yours, &c. T. A."

"It is said the Dean and Chapter of Westminster proceeded lately to the choice of a Rector of Islip in Oxfordshire, in the room of the late Dr. South. The candidates were Dr. Broderick, Chaplain to Sir Richard Onslow when Speaker of the House of Commons, and Dr. Barker Chaplain to the present Speaker. The Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Dent, Dr. Sprat, Mr. Kimberley, and Mr. Evans, voted for the former; and the Doctors Bradford, Gee, Lynford, Cannon, and Watson for the latter; but a contest arose about the concluding vote, which is not allowed by the Chapter." St. James's Post, Aug. 10, 1716.—"We are assured, that Dr. Broderick is not declared Minister of Islip in Oxfordshire; but that Dr. Baker's interest is still like to succeed."

St. James's Evening Post, Aug. 11, 1716.

CCXXXV. To Mr. POPE.

Dec. 1716.

I RETURN your * Preface, which I have read twice with pleasure. The modesty and good sense there is in it must please every one who reads it; and since there is nothing that can offend, I see not why you should balance a moment about printing it—always provided, that there is nothing said there which you may have occasion to unlay hereafter: of which you yourself are the best and the only judge. This is my sincere opinion, which I give because you ask it: and which I would not give, though asked, but to a man I value as much as I do you; being sensible how improper it is, on many accounts, for me to interpose in things of this nature; which I never understood well, and now understand somewhat less than ever I did. But I can deny you nothing; especially since you have had the goodness often and patiently to hear what I have said against rhyme, and in behalf of blank verse; with little discretion perhaps, but I am sure without the least prejudice: being myself equally incapable of writing well in either of those ways, and leaning therefore to neither side of the question but as the appearance of reason inclines me. Forgive me this error, if it be one; an error of above thirty years standing, and which therefore I shall be very loth to part with. In

* The General Preface to Mr. Pope's Poems, first printed in 1717, the year after the date of this letter.

other

other matters which relate to polite writing, I shall seldom differ from you ; or, if I do, shall, I hope, have the prudence to conceal my opinion.

I am as much as I ought to be, that is as much as any man can be, yours, &c. FR. ROFFEN.

CCXXXVI. To Mr. POPE.

Feb. 18, 1716-17.

I HOPED to find you last night at Lord Bathurst's, and came but a few minutes after you had left him. I brought "Gorboduc*" with me ; and Dr. Arbuthnot telling me he should see you, I deposited the book in his hands ; out of which, I think, my Lord Bathurst got it before we parted, and from him therefore you are to claim it. If Gorboduc should still miss his way

* A Tragedy written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (and much the best performance of that age) by Sackville afterwards Earl of Dorset, Lord Treasurer to Queen Elizabeth, and Thomas Norton, one of the Translators of the Psalms. It was then very scarce, but was re-printed by Mr. Doddsley, under the inspection of the ingenious Mr. Spence †, in 1736. But that edition is of no value, owing to its having been printed from the re-publication of a spurious copy, published without the consent of the authors. In the same imperfect manner it appeared in the first edition of Mr. Doddsley's Collection of Old Plays ; but has been more carefully given to the world in the last valuable edition of that work by Mr. Reed.

† The malevolence of Curll, in an Epistle to Mr. Pope, 1737, thus vented itself on this occasion against four characters of distinguished reputation :

- " 'Tis kind indeed a Livery Muse to aid,
- " Who scribbles Farces to augment his Trade.
- " Where You and Spence and Glover drive the nail,
- " The Devil's in it if the plot should fail."

to you, others are to answer for it; I have delivered up my trust. I am not sorry your "Alcander *" is burnt; had I known your intentions, I would have interceded for the first page, and put it, with your leave, among my curiosities. In truth, it is the only instance of that kind I ever met with, from a person good for any thing else, nay for every thing else to which he is pleased to turn himself.

Depend upon it, I shall see you with great pleasure at Bromley; and there is no request you can make to me, that I shall not most readily comply with. I wish you health and happiness of all sorts, and would be glad to be instrumental in any degree towards helping you to the least share of either.

I am always, every where, most affectionately and faithfully, &c.

FR. ROFFEN.

* An Epic Poem, with panegyrics on all the Princes of Europe, written by Pope when only 15 years of age. "Alcander," says Dr. Johnson, "was burnt by the persuasion of Atterbury." This letter does not seem to imply quite so much as Dr. Johnson (from Warton's Essay on Pope, p. 83.) here gathers from it. Some of the anonymous examples of the Bathos in Pope's Essay on that subject are said to have been part of that poem. Warton, *ib.*

CCXXXVII. From Dean SWIFT.

MY LORD,

Dublin, July 18, 1717.

SOME persons of distinction, lately come from England, and not unknown to your Lordship, have made me extremely pleas'd and proud, by telling me that your Lordship was so generous as to defend me against an idle story that pass'd in relation to a letter of mine to the Archbishop of Dublin*. I have corresponded for many years with his Grace, though we generally differ'd in politicks, and therefore our letters had often a good mixture of controversy. I confess likewise that I have been his Grace's advocate, where he had not many others. About nine months ago I writ a letter to him in London (for in my little station it is convenient there should be some commerce between us); and in a short time after I had notice from several friends, that a passage in my letter † was shewn to several persons, and a consequence drawn from thence, that I was wholly gone over to other principles more in fashion, and wherein I might better find my account. I neglected this report, as thinking it might soon die; but found it gathered strength, and spread to Oxford and this kingdom; and some gentlemen, who lately arriv'd here, assur'd me they had met it an hundred times, with all the circumstances of disadvan-

* Dr. William King, Archbishop of Dublin 1702—1719.

† "I am told, the Archbishop of Dublin shews a letter of yours, reflecting on the high-flying clergy. I fancy you have writ to him in an *ironical* style, and that he would have it otherwise understood." *Mr. Lewis to Dean Swift*, Jan. 12, 1716-17.

tage that are usually tacked to such stories by the great candour of mankind. It should seem as if I were somebody of importance; and if so, I should think the wishes not only of my friends, but of my party, might dispose them rather to believe me innocent, than condemn me unheard. Upon the first intelligence I had of this affair, I made a shift to recollect the only passage in that letter which could be any way liable to misinterpretation.

I told the Archbishop—"we had an account of a
 "set of people in London, who were erecting a new
 "Church, upon the maxim that every thing was void,
 "since the Revolution, in the Church as well as the
 "State—that all Priests must be re-ordained, Bishops
 "again consecrated, and in like manner of the rest—
 "that I knew not what there was in it of truth—that
 "it was impossible such a scheme should ever pass—and
 "that I believed if the Court, upon this occasion, would
 "show some good-will to the Church, discourage those
 "who ill-treated the Clergy, &c. it would be the most
 "popular thing they could think of."

I keep no copies of letters; but this, I am confident, was the substance of what I wrote; and that every other line in the letter which mentioned public affairs would have atoned for this, if it had been a crime, as I think it was not in that juncture, whatever may be my opinion at present; for, I confess, my thoughts change every week, like those of a man in an incurable consumption, who daily finds himself more and more decay.

The trouble I now give your Lordship is an ill return to your goodness in defending me; but it is the usual

usual reward of goodness, and therefore you must be content. In the mean time, I am in an hopeful situation, torn to pieces by pamphleteers and libelers on that side the water, and by the whole body of the ruling party on this; against which all the obscurity I live in will not defend me. Since I came first to this kingdom, it hath been the constant advice of all my Church-friends, that I should be more cautious. To oppose me in every thing relating to my station, is made a merit in my Chapter; and I shall probably live to make some Bishops as poor, as Luther made many rich.

I profess to your Lordship, that what I have been writing is only with regard to the good opinion of your Lordship, and of a very few others with whom you will think it of any consequence to an honest man that he should be set right. I am sorry that those who call themselves Churchmen should be industrious to have it thought that their number is lessened, even by so inconsiderable an one as myself. But I am sufficiently recompensed, that your Lordship knows me best, to whom I am so ambitious to be best known. God be thanked, I have but a few to satisfy. The bulk of my censurers are strangers, or ill judges, or worse than either; and if they will not obey your orders to correct their sentiments of me, they will meet their punishment in your Lordship's disapprobation; which I would not incur for all their good words put together, and printed in twelve volumes folio.

I am, with great respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most dutiful and most humble servant, JON. SWIFT.

CCXXXVIII. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Bromley, Sept. 6, 1717.

I HOPE this will meet you returned in health to Winchester; and heartily thank your Lordship for the continuance of your goodness to that unfortunate man *; who has offered 700 l. to compound the matter†, and it has been rejected with scorn. So he thinks of

* Anthony Alsop, elected from Westminster to Christ-Church, where he took the degree of M. A. March 23, 1696; and B. D. Dec. 12, 1706. On coming to the University, he was very much distinguished by Dean Aldrich, and published "*Fabularum Æsopicarum Delectus*, Oxon. 1698," 8vo. with a poetical dedication to Lord Scudamore, and a preface, in which he took part against Bentley, in the famous dispute with Boyle. "This book," Dr. Warton observes, (*Essay on Pope*, II. 393) "is not sufficiently known." He passed through the usual offices in his College, to that of Censor, with considerable reputation; and for some years had the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen belonging to the Society committed to his care. In this useful employment he continued till his merit recommended him to Bishop Trelawny, who soon after gave him a prebend of Winchester, with the rectory of Brightwell in Berks, which afforded him ample provision for a learned retirement; from which he could not be drawn by the repeated solicitations of those who thought him qualified for a more public character and a higher station. He attended the Convocation, however, as Proctor for the Clergy of Winchester.

† The prosecution of Mr. Alsop, alluded to in this and some of the following letters, was an action brought against him, by Mrs. Elizabeth Astrey of Oxford, for breach of a marriage contract; in which a verdict was given against him for 2000 l. (See pp. 44. 47.) The last time his name occurs in these letters, is Dec. 2, 1719. His exile very probably ended soon after. His death, which happened June 16, 1726, was occasioned by the falling-in of the bank, as he was walking by the river-side in his own garden, in a place where the path was narrow.—A quarto volume of his "*Latin Odes*" was

of nothing now but pursuing the expedient your Lordship first started to him, and loading the living with his debts, in hopes that matters may be so ordered, that he may have bread from his prebend, without their being able to touch it, as Dr. Finch *, the Warden of All Souls, had from his prebend of Canterbury. He apprehends that the debts he shall lay upon his living will take up the income of it for five or six years, after the curacy, tenths, taxes, and repairs, are deducted; and he thinks, when things are in that way, those who prosecute him will begin to be willing to take much less than they demand, rather than wait so long for a sequestration—Or, if they choose the latter, he shall have time enough to turn himself, and to consider of new expedients. And therefore what your Lordship proposed in your last letter, about Dr. Freind, may rest for some time, till it be seen how the care taken, against their coming either on the Living or Prebend, will

was published in 1752 by the late Sir Francis Bernard; and several of his poems are to be found in the early volumes of the Gentleman's Magazine; particularly in vol. VIII. p. 427. an elegant poetical epistle to Sir John Dolben, dated Brightwell, March 8, 1725; a Latin Ode to the same friend, March 1724, vol. V. p. 384; the Te Deum in Latin verse, p. 609; and an Ode to Keill, vol. IX. on his own Exile.

* Hon. Leopold William Finch, a younger son of Heneage Earl of Winchelsea, was born at Constantinople while his father was Ambassador in Turkey; became a Nobleman of Christ-Church in 1678; B. A. Dec. 17, 1681. Being chosen Fellow of All Souls college, he took the degree of M. A. Dec 17, 1685; was admitted Warden there by mandamus from King James II. Jan. 21, 1680; and was installed in a prebend of Canterbury, Nov. 4, 1689. He was afterwards B. and D. D. and died in December 1702. He translated the "Life of Hannibal" amongst those of "Illustrious Men, 1684;" and wrote the dedication to the Earl of Abingdon, prefixed to that work.

work

work upon them. Mr. Alsop thinks that his keeping residence this year at Michaelmas will give a better handle to his prosecutors towards getting the profits of it than they will otherwise have; and that, if he omits it, the Treasurer of the Church may, upon a sequestration issuing, truly say, "that there is nothing due to him;" which otherwise he cannot say. This is the opinion of skillful friends, as well as his own; and therefore he humbly hopes, that your Lordship will think his absence from Winchester at this juncture proper, and will permit him to wait upon you after your visitation is over.

I am, with that regard that becomes me, my Lord,
your Lordship's ever faithful and most obedient servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXXXIX. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Brentley, Sept. 23, 1717.

ALSOP * is indeed distracted with a multiplicity of little affairs; too many of which he has crowded into too little room, and scarce knows how to make his way through them all before the time when he must abscond. His hand and receipt are necessary for dispatching them all; and he must therefore spend all his remaining time (and it is all but little enough for his purposes) between London and Brightwell. Upon which account, if he has not obeyed the direction given him by your Lordship, you will both pity and pardon him.

I am, with very great respect, my Lord, your most obedient humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

* See p. 42. He left England a few days after. See p. 47.

CCXL. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Westminster, Nov. 2, 1717.

I AM going to do what I never before did, and, I hope, never shall do again; to write to your Lordship about something that I have nothing to do with; and that your Lordship, perhaps, will have nothing to do with; or, if you think fit to concern yourself, are probably already engaged. And yet the application to me is by such hands, that, as great an absurdity as I am going to commit, I know not how to refuse it.

I am desired, my Lord, to recommend to your Lordship Mr. Pratt (the son of my Dean of Rochester*, but no ways like his father) for the Stewardship of the Courts of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester. Since I am pressed to say something, and cannot avoid it, I must do him so much justice as to assure your Lordship, that he is a man of a very fair character†, and of repute in his profession, and, in my conscience, every way worthy of the place he desires. If my saying this to your Lordship can be of any service to him, I shall be glad of it: if it cannot, permit me to beg your Lordship's pardon for this impertinence, and under my hand to declare that I will never be guilty of the like again.

I am, with all the regard in the world, your Lordship's ever faithful and most obedient servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

* Samuel Pratt, D. D.

† "Mr. Pratt, son to the Dean of Rochester, and Mr. Younger, son to the Dean of Salisbury, are removed from the places of King's Writers." *St. James's Evening Post*, Sept. 21, 1715.

The Princess, about two hours ago was brought to bed of a son *.

CCXLI. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Bromley, Nov. 8, 1717.

IT was worth my venturing to interpose in Mr. Pratt's affair †; since it has given me a proof that my requests, even when they are impertinent and improper, yet are not unwelcome to your Lordship.

The Archbishop ‡ was of opinion that he should be permitted to hold the Convocation, and had told the Prolocutor § (from whom I had it) that he would ad-

* Great was the public exultation on this event. Among other compliments, these lines of Buchanan on the birth of James I. were applied :

“ Cresce, puer patriæ auspiciis felicibus orbe;
“ Vos quoque felices felici prole parentes !”

The young Prince was christened, Nov. 28, by the name of George-William. But “the public joy was unhappily “damped,” Abel Boyer says, “by an accident that happened after the christening was over.” Political State, vol. XIV. p. 504. This was the fracas that it occasioned between the King and the Prince, when, as Lord Chesterfield said in a humorous ballad,

“ To name a child, with might and main,
Newcastle took his way;
We all may rue the child was born
That christen'd was that day.”

But, in conclusion,

“ It kick'd up it's heels, and died.”

The young Prince died Feb. 6, 1717-18; and was buried on the 12th in Westminster Abbey: the funeral service was read by Bishop Atterbury, as Dean of Westminster.

† See p. 45.

‡ Dr. Wake.

§ Dr. Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury.

journ

journe it to-morrow till the twenty-second, and from thence, by like intermissions, till Christmas; after which the Clergy should meet, and act. But, when I was last in town, I found from good hands, that he was as much mistaken on this occasion, as he has been on many others; it being resolved in a great Council last week, at Hampton Court, to prorogue the Convocation, by a new royal writ, till February next *. That step, and the turning of Sherlock † and Snape ‡ out of the Chaplainship ||, will enable your Lordship to guess how far the Bishop of Bangor § is like to be countenanced and supported. Indeed, my Lord, these are very extraordinary steps; the effects of wisdom, no doubt; but of so deep a wisdom, that I, for my part, am not able to fathom it.

Alsop is safe, and his prosecutors at a loss how to proceed **: and begin, as I hear, to be uneasy that they did not hearken to a composition upon easy terms.

* It was prorogued to Feb. 24.

† Then Dean of Chichester, and Master of the Temple, and afterwards successively Bishop of Bangor, Salisbury, and London. He died July 18, 1761, in his 84th year.

‡ Head Master of Eton School; and a powerful antagonist to Hoadly.

|| "His Majesty has been pleased to order his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chamberlain, to remove the Reverend Dr. Sherlock, Dean of Chichester, and the Reverend Dr. Snape; and to appoint the Reverend Dr. Davies, Master of Queen's College in Cambridge, and the Reverend Dr. Laughton, Fellow of Clare Hall, to be Chaplains in ordinary to his Majesty in their room." Weekly Journal, November 9, 1717.

§ Dr. Benjamin Hoadly; afterwards translated to Salisbury, and thence to Winchester. He died April 17, 1761, aged 85.

** See pp. 42. 44.

The

The Parliament will certainly sit at or about the time prefixed; and then, I suppose, I shall have an opportunity of waiting on your Lordship at Chelsea.

I am your Lordship's ever faithful and obliged humble servant,
FR. ROFFEN.

CCXLII. To Mr. POPE.

Bromley, Nov. 8, 1717.

I HAVE nothing to say to you on that melancholy subject with an account of which the printed papers* have furnished me, but what you have already said to yourself.

When you have paid the debt of tenderness you owe to the memory of a Father, I doubt not but you will turn your thoughts towards improving that accident to

* "On Wednesday [Oct. 23.] died Mr. Pope at Chiswick, " father to Mr. Pope the famous Poet." Weekly Journal, Oct. 20, 1717. — "In this year Pope's father died suddenly, in " his 75th year, having passed twenty-nine years in privacy. He " is not known but by the character which his son has given " of him. . . . He was of a family of which the Earl of Downe " was the head, and that his mother was the daughter of " William Turner, Esquire, of York, who had likewise three " sons, one of whom had the honour of being killed, and the " other of dying, in the service of Charles the First; the " third was made a general officer in Spain, from whom the " sister inherited what sequestrations and forfeitures had left " in the family. This, and this only, is told by Pope; who " is more willing, as I have heard observed, to shew what his " father was not, than what he was. It is allowed that he " grew rich by trade: but whether in a shop or on the Ex- " change was never discovered, till Mr. Tyers [in 1782] told, " on the authority of Mrs. Racket [the relict of Pope's ne- " phew, what had been before told in the Gentleman's " Magazine for 1781, vol. LI. p. 432], that he was a linen- " draper in the Strand."

your

your own ease and happiness. You have it now in your power * to pursue that method of thinking and living which you like best. Give me leave, if I am not a little too early in my applications of this kind, to congratulate you upon it; and to assure you, that there is no man living who wishes you better, or would be more pleased to contribute any ways to your satisfaction or service.

I return you your Milton †, which, upon collation, I find to be revised and augmented in several places, as the title-page of my *third* edition pretends it to be. When I see you next, I will shew you the several passages altered and added by the Author, besides what you mentioned to me.

I protest to you, this last perusal of him has given me such new degrees, I will not say of pleasure, but of admiration and astonishment, that I look upon the sublimity of Homer and the majesty of Virgil with somewhat less reverence than I used to do. I challenge you,

* “ About the time of the Revolution, his father, who was
“ undoubtedly disappointed by the sudden blast of Popish
“ prosperity, quitted his trade, and retired to Binfield near
“ Windsor Forest, with about twenty thousand pounds; for
“ which, being conscientiously determined not to entrust it to
“ the Government, he found no better use than that of lock-
“ ing it up in a chest, and taking from it what his expences
“ required; and his life was long enough to consume a great
“ part of it, before his son came to the inheritance. . . . If the
“ money with which he retired was all gotten by himself, he
“ had traded very successfully in times when sudden riches
“ were rarely attainable.”

Dr. JOHNSON.

† This explains what is conjectured in a note on vol. IV. p. 104. The copy of Milton here spoken of appears evidently to have been the same which was sold to T. Payne out of the library of Bp. Warburton.

with all your partiality, to shew me in the first of these any thing equal to the Allegory of Sin and Death, either as to the greatness and justness of the invention, or the height and beauty of the colouring. What I looked upon as a rant of Barrow's *, I now begin to think a serious truth, and could almost venture to set my hand to it,

“ Hæc quicunque legit, tantum cecinisse putabit

“ Mæoniden ranas, Virgilium culices.”

But more of this when we meet. When I left the town, the duke of Buckingham † continued so ill that he received no messages. Oblige me so far as to let me know how he does; at the same time I shall know how you do, and that will be a double satisfaction to your, &c.

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXLIII. From Mr. POPE.

MY LORD,

NOV. 20, 1717.

I AM truly obliged by your kind condolance on my Father's death ‡, and the desire you express that I should improve this incident to my advantage. I know your Lordship's friendship to me is so extensive, that you include in that wish both my spiritual and my temporal advantage; and it is what I owe to that friendship, to open my mind unreservedly to you on this head. It is true, I have lost a parent for whom no gains I could make would be any equivalent. But that was not my only tie: I thank God, another still remains (and long may it remain!) of the same tender nature:

* Dr. S. Barrow, the Physician, in verses prefixed to the poem.

† John Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamshire and Normanby. His Grace got the better of the illness here alluded to; and lived till Feb. 24, 1720-21.

‡ See p. 49.

" Genitrix est mihi *"—

and excuse me if I say with Euryalus,

" —nequeam lacrymas perferre parentis †."

A rigid Divine may call it a carnal tye, but surely it is a virtuous one: at least I am more certain that it is a duty of nature to preserve a good parent's life and happiness ‡, than I am of any speculative point whatever.

" Ignaram hujus quodcunque pericli

" Hanc ego, nunc, linquam §?"

For she, my Lord, would think this separation more grievous than any other; and I, for my part, know as little as poor Euryalus did, of the success of such an adventure; for an adventure it is, and no small one, in spite of the most positive divinity. Whether the change would be to my spiritual advantage, God only knows: this I know, that I mean as well in the Religion I now profess, as I can possibly ever do in another. Can a man who thinks so, justify a change, even if he thought both equally good? To such an one, the part of *joining* with any one body of Christians might perhaps be easy; but I think it would not be so, to *renounce* the other.

* " Still lives the virtuous dame who gave me birth."

† " My soul so sad a farewell could not bear."

Dryden's Virgil, Æn. ix. 387.

‡ " Me, let the tender office long engage,

" To rock the cradle of reposing Age,

" With lenient arts extend a Mother's breath,

" Make Langour smile, and smooth the bed of Death,

" Explore the thought, explain the asking eye,

" And keep a while one parent from the sky!"

Pope, Epistle to Arbuthnot, ver. 407.

§ " Ignorant of this,

" Whatever danger, neither parting kifs,

" Nor pious blessing taken, her, I leave."

Dryden's Virgil, Æn. ix. 383.

Your Lordship has formerly advised me to read the best controversies between the Churches *. Shall I tell you a secret? I did so at fourteen years old; for I loved reading, and my father had no other books. There was a collection of all that had been written on both sides in the reign of King James the Second: I warmed my head with them; and the consequence was, that I found myself a Papist and a Protestant by turns, according to the last book I read. I am afraid most

* " In 1723, Pope appeared before the Lords at the memorable trial of Bishop Atterbury, with whom he had lived in great familiarity, and frequent correspondence. Atterbury had honestly recommended to him the study of the Popish controversy, in hope of his conversion; to which Pope answered in a manner that cannot much recommend his principles, or his judgement. In questions and projects of Learning they agreed better. He was called at the Trial to give an account of Atterbury's domestic life and private employment, that it might appear how little time he had left for plots. Pope had but few words to utter, and in those few he made several blunders. His letters to Atterbury express the utmost esteem, tenderness, and gratitude: '*Perhaps,*' says he, 'it is not only in this world that I may have cause to remember the Bishop of Rochester!' At their last interview in the Tower, Atterbury presented him with a Bible." Dr. JOHNSON.

On this head, see a letter dated July 27, 1722.

Pope, we may add, had given the Bishop the Paris edition of Homer, of Turnebus, 1554, as appears by the following memorandum, which I transcribe from the original:

" F. ROFFEN.

" HOMERI Iliadem

" Typis his nitidissimis Græcè editam,

" Dono mihi dedit,

" Qui eandem Carmine Anglicano,

" Musis Gratiſque faventibus, expreſſam,

" Genti noſtræ prius donaverat

:

" ALEXANDER POPE.

" ——— quantum inſtar in ipſo eſt !

" Haud fuerit quamquam, quem Tu ſequereris, Homere,

" Eſt tamen, eſt qui Te poſſet, Homere, ſequi."

Seekers

Seekers are in the same case, and when they stop, they are not so properly converted, as out-witted *. You see how little glory you would gain by my conversion. And after all, I verily believe your Lordship and I are both of the same Religion if we were thoroughly understood by one another; and that all honest and reasonable Christians would be so, if they did but talk enough together every day, and had nothing to do together but to serve God, and live in peace with their neighbour.

As to the *temporal* side of the question, I can have no dispute with you; it is certain, all the beneficial circumstances of life, and all the shining ones, lie on the part you would invite me to. But if I could bring myself to fancy, what I think you do but fancy, that I have any talents for active life, I want health for it; and besides, it is a real truth, I have less Inclination (if possible) than Ability. Contemplative life is not only my scene, but it is my habit too. I began my life where most people end theirs, with a disrelish of all that the world calls Ambition: I do not know why it is called so, for to me it always seemed to be rather *sloping* than *climbing*. I will tell you my political and religious sentiments in a few words. In my politicks, I think no further than how to preserve the peace of my conscience, in any Church with which I communicate. I hope all Churches and all Governments are so far of God, as they are rightly understood, and rightly administered: and where they are or may be wrong,

* Thus Crashaw, being deprived of his fellowship for refusing the Covenant, was reduced to great straits, and by Catholic artifices perverted to the Church of Rome; not *converted*, but rather, as Pope says, *out-witted*. He died in 1650.

I leave it to God alone to mend or reform them; which whenever he does, it must be by greater instruments than I am. I am not a Papist*, for I renounce the temporal invasions of the Papal power, and detest their arrogated authority over Princes and States. I am a Catholick, in the strictest sense of the word. If I was born under an absolute Prince, I would be a quiet subject; but I thank God I was not. I have a due sense of the excellence of the British constitution. In a word, the things I have always wished to see are not a Roman Catholick, or a French Catholick, or a Spanish Catholick, but a true Catholick; and not a King of Whigs, or a King of Tories, but a King of England. Which God of his mercy grant his present Majesty may be, and all future Majesties! You see, my Lord, I end like a Preacher: this is *Sermo ad Clerum*, not *ad Populum*. Believe me, with infinite obligation and sincere thanks, ever your, &c. A. POPE.

CCXLIV. To Mr. PRIOR.

Deanry, New-year's day, 1717-18.

I MAKE you a better present than any man in England receives this day; two poems† composed by a friend of mine, with that extraordinary genius and spirit which attend him equally in whatever he says, does, or writes. I do not ask your approbation of them. Deny it if you can, or if you dare. The whole world will be against you; and should you therefore be so unfortunate in your judgement, you will, I dare say, be

* See in Pope's Works, and also in Swift's, a letter from Pope to the Dean, dated Dec. 8, 1713.

† The "Solomon" and "Alma" of Prior.

so wise and modest to conceal it. For, though it be a very good character, and what belongs to the first pen in the world, to write like nobody ; yet, to judge like nobody, has never yet been esteemed a perfection.

When you have read them, let me see you at my house ; or else you are in danger, lame as I am, of seeing me at yours. And the difference in that case is, that, whenever you have me there, in my present condition, you cannot easily get rid of me ; whereas, if you come hither, you may leave me as soon as you please, and I have no way to help myself, being confined to my chair just as I was when you saw me last. If this advantage will not tempt you rather to make than receive the visit, nothing else will.

Whether I see you or not, let me at least see something under your hand, that may tell me how you do, and whether your deafness * continues. And if you will flatter me agreeably, let something be said, at the end of your letter, which may make me for two minutes believe that you are half as much mine as I am your faithful humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXLV. From Bishop SMALRIDGE.

DEAR SIR,

Westminster, Jan. 17, 1717-18.

I HERE at last send you the paper I promised, and ask your pardon for not sending it sooner. The true reason of the delay was, I was willing the building should be described in the proper terms of art ; and, being not master of these, I was to consult a gentleman

* Prior, Dr. Johnson tells us, complained of deafness ; " for," says he, " I took little care of my ears while I was " not sure if my head was my own."

who was here in town whilst I was in Oxford, set out from hence for Oxford the day I set out from thence, and came not hither till this week. I think you have a hard task to write the "Present State*" of what is so changeable every moment; it would be almost as practicable to write the present state of the River Thames.

I am, Sir, your affectionate friend and servant,

GEORGE BRISTOL.

CCXLVI. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Bromley, May 31, 1718.

I SHALL do what I can for the widow Furlong every year, out of Dr. Busby's charity and other ways, as I have opportunity. I intended her a present from the Sacrament-money to-morrow; but am called

* It is not certain to whom this letter (which we copy from Dr. Birch's MSS. 4274. 19.) was addressed. It was probably to Dr. Chamberlayne, the author of "The Present State of Great Britain." On a separate paper occurs,

"Temporibusque malis ausus es esse bonus.

"GEO. SMALRIDGE, 1711."

Under which is written—"now Bp. of Bristol," and at the back of it, "An autograph from Dr. George Smalridge, that learned and good man. He was a native of the city of Lichfield, student of Christ-church, Oxon. This autograph is his motto and practice. GEO. PLAXTON †."

† The Rev. George Plaxton, Rector of Donington in Shropshire, whose "Natural Observations made in the parishes of Kinardsey and Donington" are printed in Phil. Transf. vol. XXVI. p. 2418. and were ridiculed by Dr. King, in "The Welsh Schoolmaster," a humorous paper in "The Useful Transactions." See his Works, 1776, vol. II. p. 67.—Mr. Plaxton was also Rector of Berwick in Elmet, in Yorkshire; whence "he went into the South, and acting imprudently, went to ruin." Dr. Burton, as cited in British Topography, vol. II. p. 444.

away

away to attend Bishop Bradford's * consecration at Lambeth. Your Lordship knows my readiness to oblige and obey you in every thing; and need only to intimate your desire of having any thing done which it is in my power to do. I owe you all this and more, and will be sure, while I live, to pay it you. What I would have given her, and she declined, was two several weekly alms, given by the Church, in meat partly, but chiefly in bread; which comes, I think, to about fifteen pence a week; and she might have had one who, for the sake of the meat, would have been very glad to have attended, and brought the bread twice a week home to her, which would have saved her the charge of buying it elsewhere. But, I suppose, she thought this sort of benefaction below her, though I think it was not, nor useless to her in the manner I intended it.

I am glad to direct this letter to your Lordship at Farnham, because I believe it will contribute more to your health and ease to live there than at any of your other houses. I wish you long to enjoy them; and to find every body you oblige † more capable, as I am sure you can find none more willing, to return your obligations, than, my Lord, your ever faithful and most obedient servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

* Samuel Bradford, D. D. Prebendary of Westminster, Master of Corpus-Christi college, Cambridge, was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle, as above mentioned, June 1, 1718. He was afterwards the successor of Bishop Atterbury in the see of Rochester, which he held till his death, May 17, 1731; when he was succeeded by Dr. Wilcocks. Thus two Bishops of Rochester were elected whilst Atterbury lived.

† Bp. Trelawny had just obtained a royal grant, for a market to be holden three days every week, and two annual fairs, in the town of Gosport.

CCXLVII. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Bromley, Aug. 24, 1718.

I RECEIVED your commands yesterday at the Deanry, when I was stepping into my coach to come hither. I endeavoured to obey them, by calling at the Dean's * as I passed. But he and all his family are from home; gone with Sir Charles Wager to Dr. Watson's, in Cambridgeshire, where they are to stay for a fortnight: so no account is to be had from him; and the time prescribed by your Lordship is so short, that I could not procure any elsewhere. I am sorry I was so unsuccessful; and am your Lordship's most obedient and faithful servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXLVIII. From Mr. PRIOR.

MY DEAR LORD,

Westminster, Aug. 25, 1718.

MR. Clough (my godson) whom, according to my promise made for him at the font, I have not only bred a Christian, but a Clergyman, tells me, that the vicarage of Dartford is vacant, by the death of Mr. Price; and that he has a mind to succeed him in a place which may give him opportunity of doing

* Dr. Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury, married Sir Charles Wager's sister, and was Vicar of Lewisham, lying in the Bishop's road from Westminster to Bromley. See vol. I. p. 451; see also two letters, both dated Jan. 1, 1718-19.

good,

good, and learning more so to do by being under your Lordship's jurisdiction and government. If your Lordship is of the same opinion, I hope he will obtain what he desires, and I believe deserves; and I am sure my writing in his behalf will do him no disservice. I would add more, but by a confounded distemper (which we Physicians call *Morbus Cholera* *, and which you Divines would heretofore have been addicted to think the possession of devils), I can hold my pen no longer than to say,

“ Dum spiritus hos reget artus †,”

I am entirely, my good Lord, yours, M. PRIOR.

CCXLIX. To Mr. PRIOR.

DEAR SIR,

Bromley, Aug. 26, 1718.

THE first news I heard of your being ill, was under your own hand. It was a pleasure to me to find that the worst of your illness was over. I am well acquainted with that distemper, having smarted severely under it myself; and depend upon it, it is an acquaintance that will not easily be shook off: You will hear more of it, if you give it the least encouragement to renew its visits. But temperance, good hours, and a little exercise (to all which you are well inclined), will keep it at a distance. Mr. Clough, as early as he was, came too late. I had already disposed of the living ‡. However, I frankly said to him, what I now

* Flux and vomiting. WESLEY.

† “ While vital breath inspires the mortal frame.”

Dryden's *Virgil*, iv. 436.

‡ To Mr. Charles Chambers, who was collated to it Sept. 20, 1718.

say to you, that, if I had not been engaged, I should not have been willing to give it him. It is a vicarage in a great market-town, which requires perpetual residence; and he has another vicarage, which, with his minor-canonry *, is of a value equal to that of Dartford, and which he had no thoughts of quitting, but hoped to have made both consistent. That is a scheme which I can no way approve, especially in a young single man, who does not want a tolerable support; for he has a good £. 100 *per annum*, now coming in. So much for his affair, upon which I can fully justify myself when I see you—but when will that be? Do you remember the solemn promise you made me of coming over hither this summer? You have but a little time left to keep your word in. I have expected you with impatience; my peaches and nectarines hung on the trees for you till they rotted; and one of my poetical neighbours, who observed my uneasiness, and thought I liked your company better than his, applied these verses of Virgil to me:

- “ Mirabar, quid *mæste* Deos, *Francisce*, vocares :
 “ Cui pendere suâ patereris in arbore poma.
 “ Tityrus hinc aberat : ipsæ te, Tityre, pinus,
 “ Ipsi te fontes, ipsa hæc arbuta vocabant †.”

* Of Rochester, by which Dean and Chapter Mr. John Clough was presented to the Vicarage of Ashford in Kent, in August, 1721. He died Dec. 4, 1764.

- † “ Oft, Amaryllis, I with wonder heard
 “ Thy vows to heaven in soft distress preferr’d :
 “ With wonder oft thy lingering fruits survey’d ;
 “ Nor knew for whom the bending branches stay’d :
 “ ’Twas Tityrus was away—for thee detain’d,
 “ The pines, the shrubs, the bubbling springs com-
 “ plain’d.”

Dr. WARTON.

And

And what excuse shall I make for Tityrus; that he neglected his little friends for the sake of his great ones, that he was paying his court, and getting the colic? You know what Tityrus says for himself in the lines that follow :

“ Quid facerem ? neque servitio me exire licebat,

“ Nec tam præsentibus alibi cognoscere divos *.”

Would I could say of any one of those *divi* in your name, as he does in his own,

“ Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum

“ Ludere quæ vellem calamo permisit agresti † !”

Those two words *quæ vellem* touch me to the very heart : they are worth the eclogue.

You see what a deluge of Latin poetry you have drawn on yourself, by that half-line of Virgil at the end of your letter. I cannot end mine without observing to you upon it the advantage which the copy in this case has over the original. Virgil, in those five little words, *dum spiritus hos reget artus*, has expressed the whole force of a line and half in Homer,

εἰσόκ' αὐτμῇ

Ἐν στήθεσσι μένη, καὶ μοι φίλα γένατ' ὀρώρη ‡.

* “ What could I do ? where else expect to find

“ One glimpse of freedom, or a god so kind ?”

Dr. WARTON.

† “ He gave my oxen, as thou see'st, to stray,

“ And me, at ease, my favourite strains to play.” Ibid.

‡ “ Whilst life's warm spirit beats within my breast.”

POPE.

Literally,

“ —while breath within my breast remains,

“ And moves my friendly knees.”

Reget

Reget artus takes in all that Homer means, and leaves out nothing but the particular mention of φίλα γένατα, *friendly knees*, which adds not to the beauty or strength of the image, and is therefore better omitted than expressed.

The rise of this reflection is from the gout, which has at present laid hold of me; should it take away the use of my φίλα γένατα, I should be nevertheless yours, because I am so while I breathe.

To-day, to-morrow, always; at Bromley, at Westminster, every where; in Greek, in Latin, in English; and (which is more) in good earnest *, I am, Sir, your faithful humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCL. From Mr. PRIOR.

MY LORD,

Riskings, Sept. 3, 1718.

YOU have done, as you do commonly, very right in Clough's affair; or, if you had not, I forgive you all, for the kindness of your letter; and will tell you so on Saturday. The word *Francisce* was worth ten of your master's *quæ vellem's*, and gave me more delight than a whole epistle from any hand else. Why do not I write more to you? Because you write too well for me or any body else. And, though I cannot rightly express it, I mean to say something, by which you would understand that I doubt whether I more ad-

* The Bishop and Prior were not always on these good terms. See what his Lordship says of him, after his death, in a letter to Pope, dated Sept. 27, 1721.

mire or love you. Pray turn that thought in your own way, and then let me say I wrote it. You cannot oblige me more, except by continuing to me the honour of your friendship. I am well again; but have left London for a day or two, that, with my dear Lord Bathurst, I may get something better than the colic. Adieu, my Lord: I am ever and entirely yours, M. PRIOR.

CCLI. From Mr. POPE.

MY LORD,

[Stanton Harcourt,] Sept. 8, 1718.

I HAVE long had a desire to write to your Lordship, though I cannot imagine to what end; since it is not any thing I can say upon paper that can give you any title to me which you have not already, or (I hope) tell you any part of my respect or esteem which you know not already. But I have got a sort of a subject for blotting this, by means of an accident which has happened here: a young man and woman were destroyed by one stroke of lightning, who were contracted in marriage some days before*. They were people

* The melancholy fate of these lovers is thus pathetically related by Mr. Gay to Mr. F——:

“ Stanton-Harcourt, Aug. 9, 1718.

“ The only news that you can expect to have from me
 “ here is news from heaven, for I am quite out of the world,
 “ and there is scarce any thing can reach me, except the noise
 “ of thunder, which undoubtedly you have heard too. We
 “ have read in old Authors of high towers leveled by it to
 “ the ground, while the humble valleys have escaped: the
 “ only thing that is proof against it is the laurel, which, how-
 “ ever, I take to be no great security to the brains of modern
 “ authors.

people of a very good character; yet the country here are ready to rise against their minister for allowing them

“ authors. But to let you see that the contrary to this often
 “ happens, I must acquaint you, that the highest and most
 “ extravagant heap of towers in the universe, which is in
 “ this neighbourhood, stand still undefaced, while a cock
 “ of barley in our next field has been consumed to ashes.
 “ Would to God that this heap of barley had been all that
 “ had perished! for unhappily beneath this little shelter sat
 “ two much more constant lovers than ever were found in
 “ romance under the shade of a beech-tree. John Hewet
 “ was a well-set man of about five and twenty; Sarah Drew
 “ might be rather called comely than beautiful, and was about
 “ the same age. They had passed through the various labours of the year together with the greatest satisfaction: if she milked, it was his morning and evening care to bring the cows to her hand; it was but last fair that he bought her a present of green silk for her straw hat, and the posie on her silver ring was of his choosing. Their love was the talk of the whole neighbourhood; for scandal never affirmed that they had any other views than the lawful possession of each other in marriage. It was that very morning that he had obtained the consent of her parents; and it was but till the next week that they were to wait to be happy. Perhaps in the intervals of their work they were now talking of their wedding-cloaths, and John was suiting several sorts of poppies and field-flowers to her complexion, to chuse her a knot for the wedding-day. While they were thus busied (it was on the last of July between two and three in the afternoon) the clouds grew black, and such a storm of lightning and thunder ensued, that all the labourers made the best of their way to what shelter the trees and hedges afforded. Sarah was frightened, and fell down in a swoon on a heap of barley. John, who never separated from her, sat down by her side, having raked together two or three heaps, the better to secure her from the storm. Immediately there was heard so loud a crack, as if heaven had split asunder; every one was now solicitous for the safety of his neighbour, and called to one another throughout the field: no answer being returned to those
 “ who

them Christian burial. They cannot get it out of their heads but so remarkable a death was a judgement from God *. It is pleasant enough to consider, that people who fancy themselves good Christians should be so absurd as to think the same misfortunes, when they befall others, a punishment of vice; and, when they happen

“ who called to our lovers, they slept to the place where they
 “ lay; they perceived the barley all in a smoke, and then
 “ spied this faithful pair: John with one arm about Sarah’s
 “ neck, and the other held over her, as to screen her from
 “ the lightning. They were struck dead, and stiffened in
 “ this tender posture. Sarah’s left eye-brow was singed, and
 “ there appeared a black spot on her breast: her lover was
 “ all over black, but not the least signs of life were found in
 “ either. Attended by their melancholy companions, they
 “ were conveyed to the town, and the next day were interred
 “ in Stanton-Harcourt church-yard. My Lord Harcourt,
 “ at Mr. Pope’s and my request, has caused a stone to be
 “ placed over them, upon condition that we furnished the
 “ epitaph, which is as follows;

“ When Eastern lovers feed the funeral fire,
 “ On the same pile the faithful pair expire:
 “ Here pitying heaven that virtue mutual found,
 “ And blasted both, that it might neither wound.
 “ Hearts so sincere th’ Almighty saw well-pleas’d,
 “ Sent his own lightning, and the victims seiz’d.

“ But my Lord is apprehensive the country people will not
 “ understand this; and Mr. Pope says he will make one with
 “ something of Scripture in it, and with as little of poetry
 “ as Hopkins and Sternhold.”

* These Lovers were not the only persons who suffered by that storm.—“ Farmer John Cundick of Wintertown was,
 “ with his man and five horses, struck dead with thunder
 “ and lightning, and another servant wounded, July 31, anno
 “ 1718.” From a Diary of Robert Duke, of Lake, Esq. an
 adjacent village.—“ John Cundiff was buried August the 2d,
 “ 1718. He and his man and five horses were killed with a
 “ clap of thunder and lightning.” Extract from the Parish
 Register of Great Dernford, Wilts; communicated by Mr.
 Bowle.

to themselves, an exercise of virtue. I would try to do some service in procuring the following epitaph to be set over them, or something to this purpose. I send it to your Lordship for your opinion, both as to the doctrine and the poetry *; as I am very certain nothing is either fit for the Church or the publick which is not agreeable to your sentiments.

“ Near this place lie the bodies of
 “ JOHN HEWER and MARY DREW,
 “ an industrious young man
 “ and virtuous maiden of this parish;
 “ Who being at harvest-work
 “ (with several others)
 “ were in one instant killed by lightning
 “ the last day of July, 1718.

“ Think not by rigorous judgement seiz'd
 “ A pair so faithful could expire;
 “ Victims so pure Heaven saw well pleas'd,
 “ And snatch'd them in celestial fire.

“ Live well, and fear no sudden fate:
 When God calls Virtue to the grave,
 “ Alike 'tis justice, soon or late;
 “ Mercy alike to kill or save!

“ Virtue unmov'd can hear the call,
 “ And face the flash that melts the ball!”

I beg you, my Lord, not to spare me one word that is put in for the sake of rhyme. I know you will be so gentle to the modern Goths and Vandals, as to allow

* Mr. Pope seems to have been very solicitous about this epitaph, and to have felt deeply for the catastrophe of the young lovers. By a letter to him from Lady Wortley Montagu (see p. 73.) it appears that Lady had also been consulted on the subject. The epitaph as here printed is exactly the same as was placed in Stanton-Harcourt Church; where is also Pope's epitaph on the Grandfather of the present Earl.

them

them to put a few rhimes upon tombs, or over doors, where they have not room to write much, and may have hopes to make rhyme live by the material it is graved upon. In return, I promise your Lordship, as soon as Homer is translated, to allow it unfit for long works; but to say so at present would be what your second thoughts could never approve of; because it would be a profusion of repentance and conviction, and yet a perseverance in the sin.

I have lived where I have done nothing but finned, that is, rhimed, these six weeks *. I dare not approach you till the fit is over. I thank God, I find the symptoms almost gone, and may therefore soon expect to pass my time much more agreeably in London or at Bromley. I beg you to think me, what I am most proud and pleased to be thought, my Lord, your most obliged and most faithful humble servant, A. POPE.

CCLII. To Mr. POPE.

S I R,

Bromley, Sept. 12, 1718.

I RECEIVED here this morning a Letter from you, without any account of the place from whence it was written. I suppose you thought this a notable

* In one of the three rooms of the tower at Stanton-Harcourt Mr. Pope finished the fifth volume of his Homer, in his summer's retirement here, as appears by the following inscription, written with a diamond, on a piece of red-stained glass, now in the possession of Lord Nucham:

“ In the year 1718
“ ALEXANDER POPE
“ Finished here the
“ Fifth Volume of Homer.”

His friend Gay spent his time at Cockthorp, another seat of Lord Harcourt's, two miles distant.

contrivance to escape an answer. I have ill-nature enough to take a pleasure in defeating that design; and will therefore guess, as well as I can, where you are, and venture a letter at random: but I hope, through my Lord Harcourt's cover, it may possibly reach you. If it does, I have my revenge, a principle which on this particular occasion I am not ashamed to own.

In good earnest, Sir, I was pleased to see a letter from you; and pleased with the subject of that letter. Christianity is the best-natured institution in the world, and is so far from allowing such harsh censures, that it has directly forbidden them, and expressly decided against them. You know the passage: "Suppose ye that these Galilæans were sinners above all Galilæans, because they suffered such things? I tell you nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish*." What think you of letting the minister of the parish contribute this, as his share, towards an inscription on the gravestone, and as a proper rebuke to his censuring neighbours, worthy of being inscribed, not on such a monument only, but on the heart of every one that owns himself a Christian? How far this prose and your poetry, a verse of Scripture, and the stanzas you sent me, are fit to keep company with each other, I pretend not to say; but sure I am, that the words are weighty.

You are too good to me to think that my relish of such performances is enough to make me capable of advising you; or if I were, yet my partiality in behalf of whatever you write would steal away my judgment. However, since you are so civil, and seem so sincere, I will try for once to divest myself of such

* Luke xiii. 2.

prejudices, and will venture to tell you my mind of what you know so much better than I do. If I shew my unskilfulness, I shall yet give you a proof of my friendship, and an instance of the power you have over me. Perhaps there is nobody but you that could so easily have led me into so great a mistake. Use your influence gently, if you intend to preserve it.

I like the lines well : they are yours, and they are good ; and on both these accounts are very welcome to me. You know my opinion, that poetry, without a moral, is a body without a soul. Let the lines be never so finely turned, if they do not point to some useful truth, if there is not instruction at the bottom of them, they can give no true delight to a reasonable mind. They are,

“ Versus inopes, rerum, nugæque canoræ* ;”

and as such they may tinkle prettily in the ears, but will never reach the heart, or leave a durable impression behind them.

Nobody that reads what you have written will blame you in this respect ; for it is all over morality from the beginning to the end of it ; and it pleases me the better, because I fancy it drawn from the sources of Horace ; for I cannot help thinking that his

“ Si fractus illabatur orbis,

“ Impavidum ferient ruinæ †,”

was (whether you attended to it, or no) the original from which your two last verses were copied. I wish you had prepared the way for the latter of them, as he

* “ Sounding trifles, void of thought.” W. DUNCOMBE.

† “ Nor would the wreck his mind appall,

“ Should the whole world to swift destruction fall.”

DUNCOMBE'S Horace, 3 Od. iii. 7.

has done for the idea given us by *fractus illabatur orbis*, which is strong enough to support that which follows, *Impavidum ferient ruinæ*; whereas you melt the ball at once, without giving us any warning; and are led on the sudden from a particular account to the general conflagration; and that too is to be effected by a *flash*, a word not equal to the work on which it is employed.

Pardon this freedom. But my old master Roscommon has an expression which I had always looked upon as very happy and significant:

“ He who *proportion'd* numbers can disclose;”
and without that just proportion nothing is truly admirable.

Will you forgive me, if I add, that *melting the ball*, without that preparation I mentioned, is too apt to lead us into the image of a snow-ball. Waller, I am persuaded, for the sake of the *F* and the *B* (of which he was remarkably fond) would have chosen to say,

“ And face the flash that *burns* the ball.”

I am far from proposing this as an improvement. I do not think it such; or, if it were, I would not offer it; for where the images themselves are not well suited, it is in vain to alter a particular expression.

I know not whither I am going in this track of criticism, to which I have been long a stranger; but since I am in for it, “*Pergite, Pierides.*”

In the first stanza I must take the liberty to object against *so faithful* and *so pure*; because they are so near to one another, and yet belong to different sentences. Nor can I approve that confusion of ideas which seems to be in the two last lines. Elijah indeed was snatched

up

up in a chariot of fire ; but *pure victims* consumed by fire from heaven cannot be said to be snatched up in it.

Has the word *celestial*, in the 4th line, any force ? If heaven snatches them up in fire, that fire must needs be celestial, *i. e.* heavenly.

Your second stanza is full of good sense, shortly expressed. But methinks there is some obscurity in it :

“ Quo vitio minime teneri soles,”

as Suetonius says of Horace. For when God calls the virtuous to the grave, though he be alike just whether he calls him soon or late, yet it should not be said he is alike merciful whether he kills or saves him ; for if he saves him, the very supposition of his being called to the grave is destroyed. Nor am I perfectly satisfied with that phrase,

“ When God calls Virtue to the grave ;”

though, if the connection of it with the fourth line were exact in point of sense, the expression itself would not shock me.

Virtue unmov'd—should you not rather say *Goodness*, than repeat the word *Virtue*, which you had used three lines before ? So you had *call* also ; but that repetition is graceful, the verb being changed into a substantive, and becoming by that means a new word which echoes to the former, and yet differs from it.

“ Aliisque et idem

“ Nascereis *,”

says he †, who says every thing better than any body but Virgil.

* “ Another and the same shall spring.”

† Horace, *Carmen Seculare*, ver. 10.

- “ Hæc ego dictabam, sylvas saltusque peragrans
 “ Bromleios, urbes urbanaque gaudia vitans,
 “ Excepto quod non simul esses, cætera lætus.
 “ Hæc latebræ dulces, etiam, si credis, amœnæ,
 “ Incolumem tibi me præstent Septembribus horis.”

You see, Sir, I have obeyed your commands, because they are yours, with a frankness which I should like in another, and therefore hope you will not dislike in me. I have ventured to object to what I could not have written, and cannot mend. I was pleased with the thoughts of writing to you, though upon a subject that did not altogether please me; for experience has taught me, that it is a wiser and better pleasure to taste the beauties of good writers, than to find out their faults; especially since it is great odds that, when we are playing the critick, we commit more real mistakes than we pretend to find. That, I doubt not, is my case: however, *jacta est alea*.

I say nothing to you about *rhime*, because it is a subject on which I have so much to say. Why should you forego an advantage which you enjoy in perfection, and own that way of writing not to be the best in which you write better than any man? I am not so unreasonable as to expect it. But I know I have the testimony of your poetical conscience on my side, though you are wise enough not to own so unpopular and unprofitable a truth.

When I see you here, as you seem to promise, more of these matters. In the mean time, I am, yours, &c.

FR. ROFFEN.

CCLIII. Lady WORTLEY MONTAGUE to Mr. POPE.

Dover, Nov. 1, O. S. 1718.

I HAVE this minute received a letter of yours sent me from Paris. I believe and hope I shall very soon see both you and Mr. Congreve ; but as I am here in an inn, where we stay to regulate our march to London, bag and baggage, I shall employ some of my leisure time in answering that part of yours that seems to require an answer.

I must applaud your good-nature in supposing that your pastoral lovers (vulgarly called *hay-makers*) would have lived in everlasting joy and harmony, if the lightning had not interrupted their scheme of happiness. I see no reason to imagine that John Hughes [Hewet] and Sarah Drew were either wiser or more virtuous than their neighbours. That a well set man of twenty-five should have a fancy to marry a brown woman of eighteen, is nothing marvellous ; and I cannot help thinking that, had they married, their lives would have passed in the common track with their fellow parishioners. His endeavouring to shield her from a storm was a natural action, and what he would have certainly done for his horse if he had been in the same situation. Neither am I of opinion that their sudden death was a reward of their mutual virtue. You know the Jews were reprov'd for thinking a village destroyed by fire more wicked than those that had escaped the thunder. Time and chance happen to all men. Since you desire me to try my skill in an epitaph, I think
the

the following lines perhaps more just, though not so poetical as yours.

" Here lie John Hughes * and Sarah Drew ;
 " Perhaps you'll say, What's that to you ?
 " Believe me, friend, much may be said
 " On that poor couple that are dead.
 " On Sunday next they should have married ;
 " But see how oddly things are carried !
 " On Thursday last it rain'd and lighten'd :
 " These tender lovers, sadly frighten'd,
 " Shelter'd beneath the cocking hay,
 " In hopes to pass the time away.
 " But the bold thunder found them out
 " (Commission'd for that end, no doubt) ;
 " And, seizing on their trembling breath,
 " Consign'd them to the shades of death.
 " Who knows if 'twas not kindly done ?
 " For, had they seen the next year's fun,
 " A beaten wife and cuckold swain
 " Had jointly curs'd the marriage chain ;
 " Now they are happy in their doom,
 " For POPE has wrote upon their tomb."

I confess these sentiments are not altogether so heroic as yours †; but I hope you will forgive them, in favour of the two last lines. You see how much I esteem the honour you have done them; though I am not very impatient to have the same, and had rather continue to be your stupid, *living*, humble servant, than be *celebrated* by all the pens in Europe.

I would write to Mr. Congreve; but suppose you will read this to him, if he enquires after me. Yours, &c.

* Hewet.

† They were certainly in every respect inferior; and turn a severe and awful subject into a ridiculous joke.

CCLIV. MEMORIAL presented to King George the First, Dec. 8, 1718.

THE Bishop of Rochester Dean of Westminster, and the Chapter of that Church, humbly represent to your Majesty, that Queen Elizabeth of glorious memory founded the College of Westminster, which has in all times since been highly favoured by your Majesty's royal ancestors, and has bred up great numbers of men useful both in Church and State; among whom are several who have the honour at present to serve your Majesty in high stations. That the Dormitory of the said College is in so ruinous a condition, that it must of necessity be forthwith rebuilt; the expence of which building (besides other charges that may thereby be occasioned) will, according to the plan now humbly presented to your Majesty, amount to upwards of five thousand pounds. As a foundation for the raising of this sum, a legacy has been left by one * who was a member of this College: and there is good reason to believe that divers persons of quality, who owe their education to this place, may be disposed to favour this design, if they shall be incited by your Majesty's royal example. The said Bishop and Chapter therefore humbly hope that your Majesty will, as an encouragement to Learning, be pleased to bestow your royal bounty on this occasion, in such measure as to your Majesty's high wisdom shall seem proper.

* Sir Edward Hannes. King George I. gave 500*l.* King George II. 1000*l.* the Parliament 1200*l.* and Mr. Morice (the son-in-law of Bp. Atterbury) 500*l.* See the further history of this Dormitory in Widmore, p. 168; and a beautiful view of it in Welch's List of the King's Scholars, 1788.

CCXLV. To Dr. STANHOPE *.

MR. DEAN,

Bromley, Sunday-noon, Jan. 1, 1718-19.

IT is high time that Mr. Archer should be licensed ; and I wish I had an opportunity of discoursing him and Mr. Sherlock for half an hour, about the methods of restoring the use of public baptisms, in *all* cases but *that* mentioned in the rubrick. My mind is much bent upon it ; and I wish also I had your opinion and assistance in the matter.

I shall be here till Wednesday morning, and should be glad to see them any afternoon ; or, if they had rather come to Westminster, let me know some time before-hand, and I will be free from other company. I wrote to you on this head to Canterbury, I think, about three months ago. I desire you will quicken them, that there may be no further delay ; and am, Reverend Sir, your very affectionate brother,

FR. ROFFEN.

* This truly amiable Divine was born at Hertishorn, in Derbyshire, March 5, 1659-60 ; and was educated successively at Uppingham, Rutland, and Eaton, whence he was elected to King's College, Cambridge, 1677 ; became B. A. 1681 ; M. A. 1685 ; Vicar of Lewisham 1689 ; D. D. July 5, 1697 ; Vicar of Deptford 1703 ; and Dean of Canterbury the same year. He was also Chaplain to King William and Queen Mary, and to Queen Anne ; and died, universally beloved, March 18, 1727-8.

CCLVI.

CCLVI. From Dean STANHOPE.

MY LORD,

Lewisham, Jan. 13, 1718-19.

MR. Sherlock and Mr. Archer had waited on you sooner, but that the former was confined for two or three weeks, with a complaint in one of his eyes. They both desired to wait on you at Bromley, hoping to find you more at leisure there; and I will contrive, if possible, to send them to-morrow or Tuesday. I can very truly say that I am in no degree the occasion of this delay; and would now wait on your Lordship with them, were it not my misfortune to be confined by illness. The *private baptisms* I have long discouraged, and, by Mr. Sherlock's help, brought so many to church, that for several years past, I may venture to say, the number of those *at home* in my time bear no proportion to what used to be in that of my predecessor at Deptford. Those at Lewisham, I believe, are scarce one in three months, nor have been a long time; and of them, the great distance from the Church is generally the inducement for allowing it. But I shall be highly content with your Lordship's express prohibition to indulge the liberty, which creates much trouble, and turns to little advantage. And had I not at first been countenanced by my superiors, I had reformed this practice from the beginning; and am perfectly willing to do it now. But I will trouble your Lordship no longer, than to profess myself, with all possible duty, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

GEORGE STANHOPE.

CCLVII.

CCLVII. To Dean STANHOPE.

GOOD MR. DEAN,

Jan. 18, 1718-19.

I AM perfectly satisfied, by your letter, and by what Mr. Sherlock has said to me, that all care will be taken (as I find a great deal has been already) to bring all the children to be baptized at Church, who are not really in danger of death.

I thank you heartily for what you have done, and shall do further, in this matter; and, having your kind assistance towards making things perfectly regular at Deptford, doubt not but, by God's blessing, I shall be able to effect what I purpose in all other parts of my Diocese, as I have done it in several already.

Mr. Sherlock desired something under my hand, that he might shew to those who pressed him to give private baptism to their children.

I told him, if the addition of the particular clause to that purpose, which I now insert in every licence, were not sufficient, I would do in that kind whatever he should desire.

Should you happen to come to town before I return to Bromley, I will adjust that matter with you.

I know your bringing things to bear at Deptford will be of great influence towards my succeeding in the attempt every where else; and therefore I press this point so earnestly upon you.

You have always had worthy good men for your curates; and, in my opinion, never had better than now. And their zeal and firmness in the case will make

every thing easy both to you and me. I am, with an hearty regard, good Mr. Dean, your very affectionate brother,

FR. ROFFEN *.

CCLVIII. From Sir LITTLETON POWIS † to Lord Chancellor PARKER.

MY LORD,

Henley, near Ludlow, Aug. 4, 1719.

TAKING London in my way between Lewes and Kingston, I came to your Lordship's house the morning before I went to Kingston; but your Lordship was then sitting. I did then intend to have informed your Lordship of what occurred in the circuit thitherto, relating to the publick, especially in Kent: and after I came from Kingston, I found your Lordship was gone out of town; and before your return, I set out for my country-concerns in Shropshire, until next term; so that what account I give your Lordship must be by letter.

Though your Lordship has heard how the verdict went in the tryal at Rochester ‡, yet perhaps it may not be unacceptable to your Lordship, to have some abstract of the matter arising in it. It began at six in the morning, by my appointment, and held till twelve. The Court was very full of Clergymen, and a great

* Friday, June 26, 1719, the Dean of Westminster buried Mr. Addison.

† Serjeant at Law, April 13, 1692; a Baron of the Exchequer, Oct. 28, 1695; one of the Justices of the King's Bench, Jan. 26, 1700. He retired from public business in November 1726.

‡ Occasioned by a charity sermon preached there, by Mr. Hendley, Lecturer of Islington; who died not long after.

auditory;

auditory ; and I gave both sides liberty to expatiate as they pleased, especially the defendants, that they might not say but that they had a full and fair trial. Most of the witnesses for the prosecution were unwilling, and did prove the facts but meanly ; but afterwards the witnesses for the defendants did, upon questioning, prove all the facts very fully upon all the defendants, viz. Hendley the preacher, the school-master, and the two collectors, being all who were served with process.

Serjeant Comyns, Sir Constantine Phipps, and Mr. Blunden, for the defendants, after an harangue upon the virtue of charity, and how essential to Christianity (though I thought the texts they cited proved another sort of charity, viz. good-nature and good-neighbourhood, but I thought it not proper then to take notice of the distinction), insisted chiefly.

1. That it would discourage all charity and charity-schools, which would thus be in danger of subversion.

2. That every parson might order collections, in his own parish, for what charities he please, especially if approved of by the Bishop.

3. That the rubrick in the Communion Service, a Common Prayer book being produced in Court, does imply that the Parson and the Bishop are intrusted in collections of charity in the Church ; for it says, that if the Parson and Churchwardens disagree in the distribution, the Bishop shall determine.

4. That the parson of the parish, and also the Bishop of Rochester, did give Hendley leave to preach this sermon for this purpose.

5. That

5. That though the sermon was done, yet the prayer for the holy Catholic Church at the Communion-table was not quite finished, as were not also the sentences for exciting charity, when Mr. Farrington, the justice of peace, interrupted the collection.

6. That the two present Archbishops have preached charity-sermons, in London, for the children of other parishes there.

7. That there is no precedent of such an indictment ever before.

Too much time was spent on both sides, relating to what power the Bishops had antiently in the distribution even of tythes and profits relating to the Church, and their rights to license preaching, and to direct what is to be done in Churches, and that laymen are not to intermeddle there.

Serjeant Darnel, Mr. Baines, and Mr. Marsh, were *pro Rege*. The substance of what they all said is herein mentioned, intermixed with my own thoughts in my summing up to the jury.

I first said, that there were three things much insisted on by the defendants' counsel, and answered by the counsel on the other side, which I thought ought to be pared off and put out of the case; viz.

1. All jealousy of discouraging all charity and charity-schools; for that they remained just as they were before, as long as they kept within the bounds of their proper parishes: but that this case was quite of a different nature, relating to arbitrary collections, and that in other parishes, and the coming of fifty boys and girls together begging for that purpose; and if

this was practised, it might do more harm to charity-schools, by making them odious to their parishes, whose poor would be injured, by lessening the charity to them.

2. It ought to be out of the case, whether Mr. Hendley was authorized to preach there, or not; for that I thought it the same case if the parson of the parish himself had then preached; [it was at my tongue's end, if the Bishop himself had preached, as indeed it was the same; but I thought it better not to heat the question by a supposal of the Bishop's preaching;] for that the preaching was not the point, being used only to excite giving; but the true point was, whether the collection was without lawful authority; and therefore the collecting of it in the Church is not a jot better, in point of law, than if the fifty boys and girls had stood at the market-place, and the collectors had there received the charity of whom they could assemble about them.

3. Another matter I thought proper to be pared off (though so much debated on both sides) whether it was a crime (I suppose the crime suggested in the Bishop of Rochester's Court) to interrupt the collection before the prayer for the holy Catholic Church, and the sentences for charity, were fully read, since they thought, that if such collecting is an unlawful act, the proper time to stop it is just when it begins, or soon after, as here was done by Mr. Farrington; for otherwise Common Prayer, or a sermon, might be used to justify and give a sanction to any unlawful act, and this stop might as well have been in the middle of the Common Prayer, or of the sermon, in case the unlawful collection had then

then begun: so that the true point is, whether the collection was unlawful; and upon that all the case depends.

As for the assertion, that every parson of a parish may order collections in his parish for charities, when and for what he pleases; I declared my opinion, that he could not; it not being any part of his function, like reading prayers, preaching, christening, burying, &c. and I knew not how he was made judge of the times and objects of all charities within his parish, though he might preach as much as he pleased upon the general duty of charity.

As to the rubrick in the Communion Service, I said, I thought that was to be taken *secundum subjectam materiam*, viz. the ordinary collection at the Communion, which is ever then used to be made for the poor of that parish, but should not extend to every collection the parson should appoint for any foreign charity; and that I did not till now hear that the Clergy did claim such a power. And farther I said, that I thought those words of the rubrick did not imply such a power in the parson; for the words being, "the money given at the offering shall be disposed of to such pious and charitable uses as the parson and the churchwardens shall think fit, wherein if they disagree, it shall be disposed of as the ordinary shall appoint;" such a power of appointing a collection at pleasure is as much implied in the churchwardens as in the parson, for they have as much liberty to disagree from the parson in the distribution, as the parson has to disagree from them; and so the churchwardens might also appoint collections for what

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charities

charities they pleased : bnt that I thought that the parson and churchwardens, either jointly or severally, could not appoint any collection for charity otherwise than in common form for the poor of their own parish, and that those are the charitable uses intended by the rubrick, and particularly at the Communion, to the service of which those words of the rubrick are subjoined. [I hope your Lordship, on reading that part of the rubrick at the end of the Communion Service will be of my opinion, which I then suddenly declared, as to the implication, and do not since alter, unless otherwise convinced.]

As to what was mentioned of the two present Archbishops, it was for the poor of the same town, though of a different parish : and all the circumstances of those cases do not now appear, nor were they litigated as this case is.

As to the objection, that there is no precedent of such an indictment ever before :

Sol.—There never was such an attempt before, that fifty boys and girls should go into another parish, in another county, and make a kind of migration in such a body, really begging, though with great formality. And though much might be said (as the Counsel for the King insisted) to bring them within the statute of vagrants, especially seeing the Stat. of 39 Eliz. C. 4. Paragr. 2. says, that “all persons calling themselves scholars, going about begging, shall be accounted vagrants:” yet I judged it not proper to put the case upon that point, when I thought it so clear otherwise, and fit so to be mentioned.

I also

I also told the jury, that this case did consist of two parts; the first but particular, and the other very general.

As to the particular, it is relating to the maintenance of the poor, which is not of a spiritual nature, but a mere lay-concern, and relating to the civil government; and the several acts of parliament do plainly esteem it as such, by ordering the rates and collections for the poor, and putting the whole management into the lay-hands of the justices of the peace, and the overseers of the poor, who are to be nominated by the justices of the peace, and accountable to them, and by their directions to set the poor at work, if they thought proper; and therefore a justice of peace, being then in the Church, might well take it to be a matter within his jurisdiction, and that he might stop such a new and extraordinary proceeding, newly begun among the Clergy, relating to the maintenance of the poor, and a collection made by strangers, without the consent or assistance of the churchwardens or overseers of the poor of that parish.

But this case, if under a general consideration, is of a vast extent, and mighty consequence to the King and the people, and at which the very Legislature may take umbrage. The levying of money is the tenderest part of our constitution; and if it may be done arbitrarily, under the shew and form of charity (which may comprize all good works and all good intentions) it cannot be said whither it may go, any more than it can be said whither these fifty boys and girls may go: for as, by the same reason, they may go into all the parishes in

England, so collections, as for charities, may be set up in all the Churches in England by the Clergy, as often as they please: and though it be said it is all but voluntary giving, yet it is a sort of compulsion, by the solemnity in the Church, and vying with others, and being marked out, if refusing, or giving meanly.

In the time of Charles I. the Parliament took great offence at some attempts for free gifts to the Crown; and we hear that Cardinal Alberoni is now setting up the like all over Spain.

But besides, here in England no collection even for charity (unless for the poor of the same parish) is by law to be made, but by the leave and permission of the King; gathering of money being so nice a matter, that it must not be done, even for charity, without his leave, in the most compassionate cases; and thence the antient method of briefs under the great seal has been used, even upon extreme great losses by fire. And the Stat. of 4 and 5 of Anne have put the whole management of briefs under the regulation of the Court of Chancery, and empower the laying great fines upon the offenders. But this method were giving a go-by to all royal licences, and putting it in the power of the Clergy to do all acts of charity of themselves, at the expence of the people, and to be sole judges of the occasions, and to make what application and account they please.

I told the jury, that I was very clear of opinion, in point of law, this was a case of dangerous consequence, and was an invasion not only on the King's prerogative, but also upon the Legislature; and that I thought the defendants guilty.

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The jury stayed out but a little while, and brought them in all guilty. I then told the defendants' counsel, that if they did not like my opinion in point of law, they might bring their writ of error; and the indictment being so special, it did equal a special verdict, and they might have the opinion of a special Court, if they pleased.

I then set a fine of a noble upon each defendant; I saying it was so small only because it was made a question; but now that a verdict had settled it, there would be very heavy fines upon those who should presume to offend in like manner hereafter. Yet I heard that some gentlemen in the town had thereupon said, that I had been too favourable to them by so small fines: but it was far from my intention of any favour to them, but of service to the King; whereas, if great, it might have been said, that, while they were prosecuted for levying money on the people, the prosecution was only to levy money upon them, when it was really to settle the point: and great fines might have raised compassion, and perhaps a collection for them. It would be great satisfaction to me if your Lordship be of the same opinion with me, as to the smallness of the fines; I am sure I intended it for the best.

I gave Mr. Woodford a news-paper, wherein was an advertisement, which I thought very fit to be shewed to superiors: that the Bishop of London had issued a circular letter, to all his Clergy, to collect charities in their parishes for the poor vicarages in England, which I thought much of a kin to the late collection in Kent, or rather more dangerous, not only by raising a vast

sum of money (if the like in all dioceses) but also by marking out people how far affected to the Church throughout England, and casting some reflection upon Queen Anne's bounty, and upon a beneficial explanation after by his present Majesty, yet as if to be supported by begging: and this done in a time of taxes, which must appear the more heavy after such collections; and the Clergy would thus gain a power of raising money as they please, and applying it as they please. How this project goes on I know not; but sure it ought to be stopped: and for that purpose, a thing very apposite was mentioned in the debate of the late tryal in Kent, That commonly about Christmas, when it is hard with the poor for want of work, in great frost and snow, then the Bishop of London does send a circular letter, to the parishes within the bills of mortality, to make collections for the poor, to be put into the hands of the Lord Mayor. But it was also alledged in the same trial, that, precedent to such circular letter of that Bishop, the King sends a letter, under his sign manual, to that Bishop, authorizing and requiring him so to do. This deserves to be enquired into; and if true*, it is a case in point against this new letter of the Bishop of London, if without the King's licence.

A man of Rochester, worth nothing, was convicted before me of drinking the Pretender's health. I ordered him to be whipped, in open market, twice, till his back was bloody, with a month between the first and second whipping.

And at Lewes, a man of Rye was convicted before me for drinking the health of King James the Third,

* It is still the common usage. EDIT.

and saying, he knew no such person as King George. He had run out a good estate by looseness, and had nothing left but an annuity of thirty pounds *per annum* for his life. I fined him a hundred pounds, and committed him till paid, and that he should find good sureties for his good behaviour for three years next after the payment of the fine. I told him, that by his paying a hundred pounds to King George, he would certainly know there is such a person.

Your Lordship's notion, against setting a state offender in the pillory, was certainly very right; and did so convince me, that I have ever since ordered corporal or pecuniary punishments upon them, as having a better effect upon shameless people, and without giving the mob an opportunity to be troublesome.

I declared in all my charges in this circuit, as I did the two last terms at Westminster, that the number of base libels and seditious papers is intolerable, and that now a quicker course will be taken about them; for that now the Government will not be so much troubling itself to find out the authors of them; but as often as any such papers are found on the tables of coffee-houses, or other news-houses, the master of the house shall be answerable for such papers, and shall be prosecuted as the publisher of them; and let him find out the author, letter-writer, or printer, and take care, at his peril, what papers he takes in.

This last was a maiden home-circuit, which had not been known before, and is to be attributed to the late good law of transportation, which is well put in execution in the counties near London, whence transporting is easy, but not so well in other parts of England. The

Treasury

Treasury would save much money, partly by paying fewer rewards of forty pounds, and partly by not long maintaining fellows in gaol, if some rates were agreed to be given to merchants to carry them off speedily.

Your Lordship's order of notification to the justices of peace had a very good effect, for they appeared much better this circuit than formerly, especially in Surrey, where I told them, that I would request your Lordship, that you would please to acquaint his Majesty, at his return, how very well, in particular, his justices of peace in Surrey had appeared, upon his pleasure being notified to them for that purpose.

I did, in all my charges, inform the audience of the occasion and necessity of that notification, for that there was grown a sort of general neglect, all over England, of the appearance of the justices of peace at the assizes, when the Judges had often matters to inform them of by command of his Majesty; and trials of felons were often imperfect, by the non-attendance of the committing justice of peace; and that their attendance was a respect due to the King and his government upon those solemn occasions: and that it is no hardship upon them; there being three excuses, which will be readily admitted, ff, upon the call, mentioned to the Court, barely upon the word of some other justice, or proof upon oath by some other person; viz. 1. If not fit to travel, by age or want of health. 2. If living out of the county. 3. If then actually out of the county. But if justices of peace shall remain at home, about their private affairs, or to avoid the trouble of a journey to the assizes, it ought to be looked on as a neglect of
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the duty of their office : for they are not called only to notify to the people that they are in commission, but to answer to their names in person.

Many of those in commission do not act, and have not taken the oath of office : whereupon I ordered, in open Court, each clerk of the peace, against next term, to transmit to your Lordship a list of such as reside in the county, and refuse to act ; yet that he does, in the mean time, know of them, if they persist in such refusal ; that so it may be their own doing if they are put out of the commission, after his Majesty's favour to them in being put in.

I fear I have tired your Lordship with this long, though abridged, account : but your Lordship's pardon will be an addition to all your former favours to, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and most humble servant,

LITTLETON POWIS.

CCLIX. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Bath, Sept. 7, 1719.

I RECEIVED your Lordship's letter here, and waited to give your Lordship an account of the effect of it, having transmitted it to Mr. Nicoll *, who was

* John Nicoll, admitted king's Scholar at Westminster, 1704 ; elected to Christ Church, 1705 ; M. A. there March 15, 1710 ; second master of Westminster School from 1714 to 1732, when he became head master ; rector of Meanstoke, Hants, Sept. 13, 1728 ; D. D. by diploma, April 26, 1733 ; prebendary of Westminster, Oct. 6, 1740 ; and Canon of Christ Church. 1757. He died Sept. 29, 1765 ; and was buried

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was to meet Mr. Alsop at a seaport town in Essex, and deliver it into his own hands; and till I heard from him about it, I thought it not proper to trouble your Lordship. I have just received my answer from Mr. Nicoll, who tells me, that Mr. Alsop excuses himself for not meeting him, by a promise he has made to the merchants at Rotterdam, to supply their Church in the absence of their minister; a promise which he the rather made,

buried in the North transept of the cathedral at Christ Church, where is this inscription on a white marble table under the great North window:

Arms—Sable, three Pheons Arg. impaling Arg. a Griffin passant Sable, between three Mullets Gules.

On white marble gravestones:

“ JOHANNES NICOLL, S. T. P.

“ Ob. 19 Sept. 1765,

“ æt. 82.”

“ Reverendus

“ JOHANNES NICOLL, A. M.

“ Hujusce Ædis nuper Alumnus,

“ ob. 12 Jul.

“ Anno { Ætatis 32.
 { Dom. 1759.”

“ M. S.

“ JOANNIS NICOLL, S. T. P. qui Scholæ Westmonasteriensi diu præfuit, postea istius Collegii factus est Præbendarius, deinde hujus Ædis Canonicus. Cujus
“ merita si quis posset requirere; quantum doctrina, bonisque valeret Artibus, si foret alicubi incognitum, statim
“ illi subjicienda sunt decora illorum hominum ingenia, qui laudatissimâ ipsius disciplinâ innutriti, per decursum
“ annorum fuerunt utrique Academiæ, imo ipsi Ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ subsidio simul et ornameto. Optimi viri
“ mores, et consuetudinem familiarem propius intuendo,
“ imaginem habes ante oculos positam, qualis cogitari
“ vix possit amabilior. Liberalitatem in illo cerneret
“ propè singularem: Comis erat erga omnes et humanus,
“ jucun-

made, and thinks himself obliged to keep, because without it, he says, the congregation must have broken up.

This unexpected turn has disconcerted my measures at present; but there is a treaty now on foot with his creditors, which may probably succeed very soon; and, if it does, he will then be here openly, and throw up all thoughts of his Carolina-journey; upon which, otherwise, I take him to be fully bent. Even the terms of that treaty, if complied with, will engage him in such a debt, as he cannot in several, nay in many years, master, without some addition to his fortune: and therefore I hope the Mastership, as soon as it can be made vacant, will be a temptation not easily to be resisted by him. I wait for the result of this affair; and as soon as I know any thing farther in it, your Lordship shall *.

I find these waters do me service, but slowly: however, I have thoughts of staying here till the beginning (perhaps till the second week) of October.

“ *jucundissimæ quoque simplicitatis. Cum provectissimæ*
 “ *ætatis incommoda omnia pariter ingravescerent, cum*
 “ *Hora mortis non inscienti indies appropinquaret, solitæ*
 “ *tamen usus est urbanitate extremum usque ad Halitum.*
 “ *At solamen illi et fiduciam afferebat anteaetæ vitæ recor-*
 “ *datio, tum Spes futuræ. Eâ verò fuit animi constantiâ*
 “ *et firmitate, quæ rarò cernitur. Præproperam ergo filii*
 “ *mortem dilectissimi et unici humaniter, prout decuit,*
 “ *fortiter tamen tulit; quasi secum reputaret jam senior, ea*
 “ *sibi mox adeunda esse Loca, ubi nullâ rerum vicissitudine*
 “ *charissima ipsius soboles è conspectu suo posset iterum*
 “ *avelli. Juxta illius cineres hic loci componitur, inter*
 “ *bonorum luctum, inter justissimas suorum complorati-*
 “ *ones. Mortuus est A. D. 1765, annum agens plus quam*
 “ *octogesimum.*”

* See p. 96.

Nobody

Nobody wishes the health and happiness of your Lordship and your family more than he who is, with the truest respect, your Lordship's ever faithful and most obedient servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCLX. Form of consecrating the new Church at Greenwich *; as performed by Bishop ATTERBURY, Sept. 29, 1719.

THE Church of Greenwich, being rebuilt† and finished, was consecrated Sept. 29, 1719, by the Right Reverend Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, in the following manner :

First, a great number of horsemen two and two came to town; secondly, the Bishop, attended by his Chaplains, in a coach and four; after him, a great number of gentlemen's coaches, some with four, others with six horses, filled with the principal gentlemen and clergy of the county. When the first of the horsemen appeared, the bells rang, as they had done before it was light. The Rev. Dr. Turner, minister of the parish, in his surplice and hood, with the churchwardens of the parish with their white wands. Dr. Henschman ‡, Chancellor of the Diocese, and the Clergy who were then present, came down to the steps to receive the Bishop, who, having given them his blessing, entered the Church, and, being robed, went to the North side of the Altar (his

* From the MSS. of Mr. Edward Steele, of Bromley.

† See vol. IV. p. 304.

‡ Humphrey, LL. D. commissary of Essex and Herts; and afterwards his Majesty's Advocate in the high court of Chivalry.

Chaplains standing at the South side). The Bishop began the office for the consecration, kneeling at the Altar; which having read, the Choir of Westminster, who attended upon this occasion, sung an anthem; after which, Dr. Turner began the service for the day, the psalms and lessons being appointed for this occasion, and the whole service performed as in Cathedrals. After the second lesson, the Bishop went down to the font, which was placed directly against the Altar, at the lower end of the Church, and baptized two children. The Doctor then proceeded in the service, till the collect for the day; at which time the Bishop, at the Altar, read several prayers and collects for the occasion; and then the Doctor finished the first service; after which was an anthem sung; and after that the Bishop read the whole second service, except the epistle and gospel, which was read by his Chaplains; which being over, a sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Wall*; and then was sung another anthem. When this was over, the Bishop, attended by his Chancellor Dr. Henchman, his Chaplains, Dr. Turner, and the rest of the Clergy, went to the new Church-yard, where was a place erected for his reception; and having said the consecration prayer, and the instruments being read, returned to the Church, where going to the Altar, he read another prayer; and so the whole concluded.

* Possibly the vicar of Shorham. See a letter dated Dec. 9, 1721.

CCLXI. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Bromley, Dec. 2, 1779.

THIS will meet you perhaps by the time you arrive at Farnham; and you may probably before that have heard that the Peerage-bill has already received a check in the House of Commons. The Court laboured to have it read a second time on Friday next: but, upon a division, 203 carried it against 158* for Tuesday; which will give the country gentlemen who are against the bill, and who are now remarkably absent, an opportunity of attending and opposing it: so that the fate of that bill, I take it, is doubtful.

Till it is over, no other bill of consequence will, I suppose, be moved: but after that, there are expectations of a bill to regulate the Universities†, which, I need not say, will deserve your Lordship's attendance; though perhaps it may not come in before the holidays. If it does, or any thing else of immediate importance appears, your Lordship shall be advertised of it.

I am afraid your Lordship has no ground to stand upon, in relation to the Archdeaconry of Surrey‡: as unkind as the usage may be, it is legal. I am your Lordship's, in all respect and service, FR. ROFFEN.

I am glad of what your Lordship writes about Alsop; and hope he will soon enjoy the benefit of it§.

* The Journals of the House of Commons say, "58." Yet Bp. Atterbury could scarcely mistake in an event that happened but the day before.

† This bill seems to have been dropped.

‡ Then vacant in the promotion of Dr. Boulter to the Bishoprick of Bristol.

§ See pp. 42. 44. 47. 93.

CCLXII. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY LORD,

Bromley, Dec. 25, 1719.

THE matter of the Duke of Queensbury's peerage comes on as soon as the House of Lords meets *. It is thought it will end in a bill, in which Duke Hamilton's title will be rectified together with his. At the same time the great point of jurisdiction in dispute between the two Houses of the Lords of the two islands will be considered; which is all the business (as yet known) that will employ us soon after the holidays.

I wish your Lordship many happy new years, and am your obedient faithful servant, FR. ROFFEN.

* On the 18th of December, 1719, the Duke of Queensbury and Dover's petition to the King, for a writ of summons as Duke of Dover, was referred by his Majesty to the House of Peers; who determined, on the 14th of January, that the Duke had no right to it. Bp. Atterbury was in the House that day. Bp. Trelawny was absent. The noble Duke's father, who was created an English peer by the title of Duke of Dover, Aug. 26, 1708, sat and voted in the House of Peers till his death in 1711. Such creations have lately been again established in the case of the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, who now sits as an English Peer.

CCLXIII. From Dr. LEWIS ATTERBURY*.

DEAR BROTHER,

April . . . 1720.

IT is reported that the Archdeacon [of Rochester] is dead, and I have sent my servant to inform me whether it is so or not. I have since considered all that you said to me yesterday, and, both from reason and matter of fact, still am of opinion, that there can be no just matter of exception taken.

I shall only lay down two or three instances, which lie uppermost in my thoughts. Your Lordship very well knows, that Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury †, had a brother for his Archdeacon; and that Sir Thomas More's Father was a Puisne Judge, when he was Lord Chancellor ‡. And thus, in the Sacred History, did God himself appoint, that the safety and advancement of the Patriarchs should be procured by their younger brother; and that they, with their Father, should live under the Protection and Government of Joseph. I instance in those obvious examples, only to let your Lordship see that I have canvassed these matters in my own thoughts; and I see no reason but to depend on your kind intentions, intimated in your former letter, to your most affectionate brother and humble servant,

LEWIS ATTERBURY.

* See the "Illustrations" at the end of vol. I. N° VII.

† From 1070 till 1093.—Anschtillus was made Archdeacon in 1075.

‡ On the disgrace of Wolsey, in 1530, the great seal was entrusted to Sir Thomas More, who was the first layman that enjoyed that honour, which he resigned in 1533, and was executed in 1535. His father, Sir John, outlived him 35 years.

CCLXIV.

CCLXIV. To Dr. LEWIS ATTERBURY.

DEAR BROTHER,

Fromley, Wednesday, April . . . 1720.

YOUR Letter directed to Westminster found me here this morning. I hope to be at Westminster to-morrow. In the mean time you may assure yourself of any thing that is in my disposal. At present the Gentleman * you mention is well, and likely to continue so. His distemper is the same as mine, though he has it in a worse degree. However, he is 16 or 17 years younger than I am, and may probably therefore outlive me. When he was in danger of late, the first person I thought of was you. But there are objections against that, in point of decency, which, I own, stick with me; and which, after I have laid them before you, you shall allow, or over-rule, as you think fit. It had been a much properer post for my Nephew †, if God had

* Thomas Sprat, M. A. (son to the famous Bishop of that name). He was Archdeacon of Rochester; and a prebendary of Westminster, Winchester, and Rochester. He died May 10, 1720.

† Dr. Lewis Atterbury had three sons; of whom the first and second died in their infancy. The third, here alluded to, named Bedingfield Atterbury, was born Jan. 8, 1693, and, after a school education at Westminster, was admitted at Christ Church, Oxford, and matriculated April 9, 1712. There he studied till he commenced M. A. June 20, 1718, and took Deacon's orders. His name appears in some of the University verses on public occasions. Those who knew him give him the character of a sober, modest, and ingenious young Gentleman: but the hopes which his Parents and Friends conceived of him were soon disappointed, for he died of the small-pox, December 27, 1718. The mother, grieved for the loss of a favourite son, did not many years survive him; she died May 1, 1723.

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pleased

pleased to spare his life. You need not mention any thing of this kind to me ; for you may depend upon it, you are never out of the thoughts of your ever affectionate brother,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCLXV. TO DR. LEWIS ATTERBURY.

DEAR BROTHER,

Deanry, Tuesday Night, [April, 1720.]

I HOPE you have considered the matter of the Archdeaconry, and do at last see it in the same light that I do. I protest to you, I cannot help thinking it the most unseemly indecent thing in the world ; and I am very sure, the generality of those, whose opinions I regard, will be of that opinion. I was so far from apprehending that such a station under me would be in the least welcome to you, that I discoursed of it, and proposed it to another person * some time ago, and am entered very far into engagements on that head ; and, had you not written to me, I do frankly own that I should never have spoken a word to you about it.

Believe me when I tell you that this is a plain state of the fact ; and should you at last come to be of my opinion, I dare say you will not at long run think yourself mistaken. I am sure I shall not be at

* Dr. Henry Brydges, who had been an old and intimate acquaintance of the Bishop ; see vol. I. p. 397. In him sincere piety concurred with noble extraction to render " the garment of holiness honourable." His demeanor was chearful and humble, his manner sweet and unblameable, and his faith lively, firm, and orthodox. Good-nature, compassion, generosity, and charity, were visible in the whole course of his life and behaviour. He was a tender husband, an indulgent father, an affectionate brother, and a kind friend. He lived universally beloved, and died sincerely lamented.

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ease till you are in some good dignity in the Church ; such as you and I and all the world shall agree is every way proper for you. I am, dear brother, yours most affectionately,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCLXVI. To Dr. LEWIS ATTERBURY.

DEAR BROTHER,

May 26, 1720.

THE person, to whom I told you I had gone very far towards engaging myself for the Archdeaconry, was Dr. Brydges, the Duke of Chandos's brother ; and him I am this day going to collate to it. I hope you are convinced, by what I have said and written, that nothing could have been more improper than the placing you in that post, immediately under myself. Could I have been easy under that thought, you may be sure, no man living should have had the preference to you. I am, dear brother, yours most affectionately,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCLXVII. From Dr. LEWIS ATTERBURY.

DEAR BROTHER,

[May, 1720.]

I AM obliged to you for the favour of your last, and more particularly for giving me a reason for your disposal of the Archdeaconry and Prebend annexed, when you was not obliged to give any reason at all. I cannot yet imagine what indecency there can be to have raised your elder brother in place under you, which doth not bear more hard supposing the person to be the brother of a Duke. There is some shew of reason, I think, for the non-acceptance, but none for the not

giving it. And since your Lordship was pleased to signify to me that I should over-rule you in this matter, I confess it was some disappointment to me; though, since you did not think fit to bestow it on me, I think you have given it to one of the most deserving persons I know of, who will add more to the honour of the place, than I could have received from it. I hope I shall be content with that meaner post in which I am; my time, at longest, being but short in this world, and my health not suffering me to make those necessary applications others do: nor do I understand the language of the present times, for, I find, I begin to grow an old-fashioned gentleman*, and am ignorant of the weight and value of words, which in our times rise and fall like stock. I did not think that Dr. Brydges would have took up with an Archdeaconry, when his brother can make him a Bishop when he pleases: though, had your Lordship put me in that post, I should not have endeavoured to have over-ruled you a second time. I am your affectionate brother and humble servant,

LEWIS ATTERBURY.

CCLXVIII. From Mr. POPE.

Sept. 23, 1720.

I HOPE you have some time ago received the sulphur, and the two volumes of Mr. Gay, as instances (how small ones soever) that I wish you both health and diversion. What I now send for your perusal, I shall

* After this period, the infirmities of old age, and a stroke (through a gentle one) of the palsy, made him less constant in the pulpit, and occasioned his going frequently to Bath, where he died, after a short illness, Oct. 20, 1731. See p. 99; and the "Illustrations" at the end of this volume, N^o IV.

say

say nothing of; not to forestall by a single word what you promised to say upon that subject. Your Lordship may criticise from Virgil to these Tales*; as Solomon wrote of every thing from the cedar to the hyssop. I have some cause, since I last waited on you at Bromley, to look upon you as a Prophet in that retreat, from whom oracles are to be had, were mankind wise enough to go thither to consult you. The fate of the South-sea scheme has much sooner than I expected verified what you told me. Most people thought the time would come; but no man prepared for it, no man considered it would come "like a thief in the night," exactly as it happens in the case of our death. Methinks God has punished the avaricious, as he often punishes sinners, in their own way, in the very sin itself: the thirst of gain was their crime, that thirst continued became their punishment and ruin. As for the few who have the good fortune to remain with half of what they imagined they had (among whom is your humble servant†) I would have them sensible of their felicity, and convinced of the truth of old Hesiod's maxim, who, after

* Arabian Tales; see pp. 106. 108.

† "In this disastrous year (1720) of national infatuation, when more riches than Peru can boast were expected from the South Sea, when the contagion of avarice tainted every mind, and even poets panted after wealth, Pope was seized with the universal passion, and ventured some of his money. The stock rose in its price; and he for a while thought himself *the Lord of thousands*. But this dream of happiness did not last long, and he seems to have waked soon enough to get clear with the loss only of what he once thought himself to have won, and perhaps not wholly of that." Dr. JOHNSON.—Mr. Pope did not sell out; and the stock he had was at one time valued at between twenty and thirty thousand pounds.

half his estate was swallowed by the *Directors* of those days, resolved that *half* to be *more than the whole* *.

Does not the fate of these people put you in mind of two passages, one in Job, the other from the Psalmist?

“Men shall groan out of the city, and hiss them out of their place.

“They have dreamed out their dream, and awaking have found nothing in their hands.”

Indeed the universal poverty, which is the consequence of universal avarice, and which will fall hardest upon the guiltless and industrious part of mankind, is truly lamentable. The universal deluge of the South-sea, contrary to the old deluge, has drowned all except a few *Unrighteous* men: but it is some comfort to me that I am not one of them, even though I were to sur-

* Mr. Pope seems to have been much pleased with this application of Hesiod's aphorism. He used it in a letter to Mr. Digby, as appears by that gentleman's answer; “I fear there are few besides yourself that will be persuaded by old Hesiod, that *half is more than the whole*. I know not whether I do not rejoice in your sufferings; since they have shewn me your mind is principled with such a sentiment; I assure you I expect from it a performance greater still than Homer.” In a former letter, Mr. Digby says, “they tell me you was soon content; and that you cared not for such an increase as others wished you. By this account I judge you the richest man in the South-sea, and congratulate you accordingly.”

In his “Imitations of Horace,” Book II. Sat. II. 133. describing his own situation, Mr. Pope says,

“In South-sea days not happier, when surmis'd
“The lord of Thousands, than if now *excis'd*;
“In forest planted by a Father's hand,
“Than in five acres now of rented land.
“Content with little, I can piddle here,
“On brocoli and mutton, round the year.”

vive and rule the world by it. I am much pleased with a thought of Dr. Arbuthnot's*: He says, the Government and South-sea company have only locked up the money of the people, upon conviction of their Lunacy (as is usual in the case of lunaticks), and intend to restore them as much as may be fit for such people, as fast as they shall see them return to their senses.

The latter part of your letter does me so much honour, and shews me so much kindness, that I must both be proud and pleased in a great degree; but I assure you, my Lord, much more the last than the first: for I certainly know, and feel from my own heart, which truly respects you, that there may be a ground for your partiality one way; but I find not the least symptoms in my head of any foundation for the other. In a word, the best reason I know for my being pleased, is that you continue your favour towards me; the best I know for being proud, would be that you might cure me of it; for I have found you to be such a physician as does not only *repair*, but *improve*. I am, with sincerest esteem and most grateful acknowledgement, yours, &c.

A. POPE.

* It were much to be wished that more of this excellent man's correspondence were in possession of the publick than they yet have been favoured with. Some of his letters, we are informed, are yet remaining in MS. A good edition of his Works is also a *desideratum*.

CCLXIX. To Mr. POPE.

[September, 1720.]

THE Arabian Tales, and Mr. Gay's books, I received not till Monday night, together with your letter, for which I thank you. I have had a fit of the gout upon me ever since I returned hither from Westminster on Saturday-night last; it has found its way into my hands as well as legs; so that I have been utterly incapable of writing: this is the first letter that I have ventured upon; which will be written, I fear, *vacillantibus literis*, as Tully says Tyro's letters were, after his recovery from an illness. What I said to you in mine* about the monument, was intended only to quicken, not to alarm you. It is not worth your while to know what I meant by it: but when I see you, you shall. I hope you may be at the Deanry towards the end of October, by which time I think of settling there for the winter. What do you think of some such short inscription as this in Latin, which may in few words say all that is to be said of Dryden, and yet nothing more than he deserves?

“ IOHANNI DRYDENO,

“ Cui Poesis Anglicana

“ Vim suam, ac Veneres debet;

“ Et siquâ in posterum augebitur laude,

“ Est adhuc debitura:

“ Honoris ergo P. &c.”

To shew you that I am as much in earnest in the affair as you yourself, something I will send you too of

* In some Letter which has not been preserved.

this

this kind in English. If your design holds of fixing Dryden's name only below, and his busto above—may not lines like these be graved just under the name?

“ This Sheffield rais'd, to Dryden's ashes just,
 “ Here fix'd his name, and there his laurel'd bust.
 “ What else the Muse in marble might express,
 “ Is known already; Praise would make him less.”

Or thus,

“ More needs not; where acknowledg'd merits reign,
 “ Praise is impertinent, and censure vain.”

This you will take as a proof of my zeal at least, though it be none of my talent in Poetry. When you have read it over, I will forgive you if you should not once in your life-time again think of it*.

And now, Sir, for your “ Arabian Tales.” Ill as I have been almost ever since they came to hand, I have read as much of them as ever I shall read while I live. Indeed they do not please my taste: they are writ with so romantic an air, and, allowing for the difference of Eastern manners, are yet, upon any supposition that can be made, of so wild and absurd a contrivance (at

* Neither of the Bishop's proposals was adopted.

“ Dryden was buried,” says Dr. Johnson, “ among the Poets
 “ in Westminster Abbey, where, though the Duke of Newcastle
 “ had, in a general dedication prefixed by Congreve to his dramatic works, accepted thanks for his intention of erecting him
 “ a monument, he lay long without distinction, till the Duke
 “ of Buckinghamshire gave him a tablet, inscribed only with
 “ the name of DRYDEN.”

Under the bust of this admirable poet appears,

“ I. DRYDEN.

“ Natus 1632; mortuus Maii 1, 1700.”

And below,—“ JOHANNES SHEFFIELD, Dux Buckinghamien-
 “ mienfis, posuit.”

least

least to my Northern understanding), that I have not only no pleasure, but no patience, in perusing them. They are to me like the odd paintings on Indian screens; which at first glance may surprize and please a little: when you fix your eye intently upon them, they appear so extravagant, disproportioned, and monstrous, that they give a judicious eye pain, and make him seek for relief from some other object.

They may furnish the mind with some new images; but I think the purchase is made at too great an expence: for to read those two volumes through, liking them as little as I do, would be a terrible penance; and to read them with pleasure would be dangerous on the other side, because of the infection. I will never believe that you have any keen relish of them, till I find you write worse than you do, which I dare say I never shall. Who that *Petit de la Croise* is, the pretended author of them *, I cannot tell: observing how full
they

* Not the *pretended Author*, but the real translator from an Arabic MS. of the tales, which is in the French King's library. What was translated in ten small volumes is not more than the tenth part of the original. The Eastern people have been always famous for this sort of composition: in which much fine morality is conveyed; not indeed in a story always representing life and manners, but such as the Eastern superstitions made pass amongst the people for such. Their great genius for this kind of writing appears from these very tales. But the policy of some of the later princes of the East greatly hurt it, by setting all men upon composing them, to furnish matter for their coffee-houses and places of resort; which were enjoined to give this entertainment to the people, with design to divert them from politics, and matters of state. This collection is so strange a medley of sense and nonsense, that one would be tempted to think the collector was some coffee-man, who gathered indifferently from the best and worst. The contrivance

they are in the description of dress, furniture, &c. I cannot help thinking them the product of some Woman's imagination : and, believe me, I would do any thing but break with you, rather than be bound to read them over with attention.

I am sorry that I was so true a prophet in respect of the South Sea ; sorry I mean as far as your loss is concerned : for in general I ever was and still am of opinion, that, had that project taken root and flourished, it would by degrees have overturned our constitution. Three or four hundred millions was such a weight, that whichever way it had leaned must have borne down all before it.—But of the dead we must speak gently ; and therefore, as Mr. Dryden says somewhere, “ Peace
“ be to its manes !”

Let me add one reflection, to make you easy in your ill luck. Had you got all that you have lost beyond what you ventured, consider that your superfluous gains would have sprung from the ruin of several families that now want necessaries ! a thought, under which a

trivance he has invented of tying them together has led him into such a blunder that often one could not be surprized at any thing. The tales are supposed to be told to one of the Kings of Persia of the ancient race before Mahomet, and yet the scene of some of them is laid in the court of Haroun Al-raschid the twenty-sixth Chalif, and the fifth of the race of Abbasides. These are amongst the best, and, indeed, it is no wonder. He was, of all the Chalifs, the most munificent, and the greatest encourager of letters ; so that it was natural for men of genius in after-times to do this honour to his memory. But the Bishop talks of *Petit de la Croix*. M. Galland was the translator of the *Arabian Tales*. The name of the others to the collection called the *Persian Tales*, of which I have nothing to say. WARBURTON.

good and good-natured man, that grew rich by such means, could not, I persuade myself, be perfectly easy. Adieu and believe me ever yours, &c. FR. ROFFEN.

CCLXX. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY LORD,

Sunday morning, Feb. 26, 1720-1.

LORD Coningsby's complaint against the Lord Chancellor is put off till to morrow; and is a matter of such high expectation, that Lord Nottingham cannot refuse himself the pleasure of being there. And I believe there is scarce a Lord that is in health who will be absent, except your Lordship *. Tuesday like-

* Bishop Trelawny did, however, attend the House on this memorable occasion, as did also King George II. then Prince of Wales. The number of Peers present that day was 112. The question in debate was, "That the charge against the present Lord Chancellor [Lord Parker], contained in the title-page of a pamphlet, intituled, 'The First Part of Earl Coningsby's Case, relating to the Vicarage of Lempster, in Herefordshire, &c.' which the said Earl did, in his place, undertake to prove in every particular thereof, is malicious, and utterly groundless; and that the said pamphlet is a scandalous libel?" After hearing the Earl in his place, the question was carried in the affirmative; and his Lordship was next day committed to the Tower. The dispute was about the presentation to the vicarage of Leominster, or Lempster, which was claimed by Earl Coningsby, as Lord Lieutenant of the county. The pamphlet, which was given *gratis* at the door of the House of Peers, reflected on the Lord Chancellor, for putting disaffected persons into the commission of the peace. On the 20th of February the Earl delivered to the House a book, intituled, "Proofs to make good the assertions in the title-page of the Case relating to the Vicarage of Lempster." Roger Gale, Esq. a Commissioner of the Excise, was one of the Earl's witnesses on this occasion.

wife

wife is set apart for the complaint about Lord Coningsby's privilege *; so that the trustees cannot meet till Wednesday; of which I have undertaken to give your Lordship an account. The cause went against the Dutchess of Hamilton † last night *nemine contradicente*. Nine of the eleven Judges (present), in elaborate speeches, declared for Mr. Fleetwood; two only, who had been counsel for the Dutchess in the cause before they were Judges (Pratt and Fortescue,) stuck to her.

I am your Lordship's ever faithful and most obedient servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCLXXI. To Mr. POPE.

March 26, 1721.

YOU are not yourself gladder you are well than I am; especially since I can please myself with the thought that when you had lost your health elsewhere, you recovered it here. May these lodgings never

* This was a complaint of the Earl against Thomas Lingen, clerk, and others, for dispossessing his Lordship of a tenement in Marden, in Herefordshire, and committing some of his servants and agents to Hereford gaol. The witnesses who attended on him on this occasion were dismissed, on their petition to the House, March 9.

† On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the 23d, 24th, and 25th of February, the Lords were taken up in hearing learned counsel at law, in a cause between her Grace the Dutchess of Hamilton, plaintiff; and Thomas Fleetwood, Esq. defendant; upon a Writ of Error against a judgement of the Court of King's Bench, in favour of the defendant, about the great estate at Gerard's-Bromley, in Staffordshire. The arguments on both sides having been heard in a full House, the judgement was confirmed.

treat

treat you worse, nor you at any time have less reason to be fond of them !

I thank you for the sight of your verses * ; and, with the freedom of an honest, though perhaps injudicious friend, must tell you, that though I could like some of them if they were any body's else but yours, yet, as they are yours and to be owned as such, I can scarce like any of them. Not but that the four first lines are good, especially the second couplet † ; and might, if followed by four others as good, give reputation to a Writer of a less established fame ; but from you I expect something of a more perfect kind, and which, the oftener it is read, the more it will be admired. When you barely exceed other Writers, you fall much beneath yourself : it is your misfortune now to write without

* The Epitaph on Mr. Harcourt. See the next note. In Pope's Works is a Letter on the same subject from Lord Chancellor Harcourt.

† The verses, as finally settled, stand thus :

“ To this sad shrine, whoe'er thou art ! draw near,
Here lies the friend most lov'd, the son most dear :
Who ne'er knew joy but friendship might divide,
Or gave his father grief but when he dy'd.

How vain is Reason, Eloquence how weak !
If Pope must tell what Harcourt cannot speak.
Oh, let thy once lov'd Friend inscribe thy Stone,
And with a Father's sorrow mix his own !”

“ This epitaph is principally remarkable for the artful introduction of the name, which is inserted with a peculiar felicity, ‡, which chance must concur with genius, which no man can hope to attain twice, and which cannot be copied but with servile imitation. I cannot but wish that, of this inscription, the two last lines had been omitted, as they take away from the energy what they do not add to the sense.” Dr. JOHNSON.
The sixth line was originally,

“ Harcourt stands dumb, and Pope is forc'd to speak.”

a rival,

a rival, and to be tempted by that means to be more careless than you would otherwise be in your compositions.

Thus much I could not forbear saying, though I have a motion of consequence in the House of Lords * to-day, and must prepare for it. I am even with you for your ill paper; for I write upon worse, having no other at hand. I wish you the continuance of your health most heartily; and am ever &c. FR. ROFFEN.

P. S. I have sent Dr. Arbuthnot the Latin MS. † which I could not find when you left me; and I am so angry at the Writer for his design, and his manner of executing it, that I could hardly forbear sending him a line of Virgil along with it. The chief Reasoner of that philosophic farce is a *Gallo-Ligur*, as he is called——what that means in English or French, I cannot say—but all he says is in so loose and slippery and trickish a way of reasoning, that I could not forbear applying the passage of Virgil ‡ to him,

“ Vane Ligur, frustra que animis elate superbis !

“ Nequicquam patrias tentasti lubricus artes§—”

* See p. 114.

† Of Huetius, Bishop of Avranches, left after his death. He was a mean reasoner: he once attempted it in a vast collection of fanciful and extravagant conjectures, which he called a *demonstration*; mixed up with much reading, which his friends called learning; and delivered (by the allowance of all) in good Latin. This not being received for what he would give it, he composed a treatise of the *weakness of the human understanding*: a poor system of scepticism; indeed little other than an abstract from *Sextus Empiricus*. WARBURTON.

‡ *Æn.* xi. 715.

§ “ Vain fool, and coward, said the lofty maid,

“ Caught in the train, which thou thyself hast laid!

“ On others practise thy Ligurian arts;

“ Thin stratagems and tricks of little hearts

“ Are lost on me.”

DRYDEN.

To be serious, I hate to see a book gravely written, and in all the forms of argumentation, which proves nothing, and which says nothing; and endeavours only to put us into a way of distrusting our own faculties, and doubting whether the marks of truth and falsehood can in any case be distinguished from each other. Could that blessed point be made out (as it is a contradiction in terms to say it can), we should then be in the most uncomfortable and wretched state in the world; and I would in that case be glad to exchange my Reason with a dog for his Instinct to-morrow.

CCLXXII. To Bp. TRELAWNY.

MY HONOURED LORD, Deanry, Monday evening, [May 19, 1721.]

THE cause* of the Dormitory comes on early, very early I believe, on Wednesday-morning; my Solicitor apprehends by eight o'clock: by nine, however,

* In this cause, Bp. Atterbury as Dean of Westminster, and four Prebendaries of that Church, were appellants, against a decree obtained in chancery by five other Prebendaries and Dr. Freind the Master of Westminster School, directing certain issues to be tried at law. The decree in chancery was made June 20, 1720. The Prebendaries who joined Bp. Atterbury in the appeal were, Michael Evans†, clerk, Lawrence Broderick, D. D. Robert Cannon‡, D. D. Harry Barker, D. D. and Dr. Sprat, who died whilst the appeal was depending. Their opponents were, Bp. Gastrell, Nicholas

† Subdean of Westminster, and Vicar of St. Bride's. See a Letter dated Nov. 30, 1729. He died Aug. 21, 1732.

‡ Dean of Lincoln, Archdeacon of Norfolk, Prebendary of Westminster and Ely, Rector of Christ Church, and Chaplain to George I. He married a daughter of Dr. Moore, Bishop of Ely; became Prebendary of Westminster 1715; died in March 1722; and was buried in the South Cross of Westminster Abbey, where is a grave-stone to his memory, and a monument for him in the South aisle. Dr. Gee succeeded him in the deanry of Lincoln; Dr. Mandeville as Prebendary of Ely; and Mr. Trapp as Rector of Christ Church.

Onely,

however, the Counsel will, I think, be got some way into it. Your Lordship has been pleased to promise that you will countenance it with your presence: I hope you will, and am, with my usual respect, your Lordship's ever faithful and obedient servant, FR. ROFFEN.

CCLXXIII. To Mr. POPE.

Sept. 27, 1721.

I AM now confined to my bed-chamber, and to the matted-room wherein I am writing, seldom venturing to be carried down even into the parlour to dinner unless when company to whom I cannot excuse myself comes, which I am not ill pleased to find is now very seldom. This is my case in the funny part of the year: what must I expect, when

“ —inversum contristat Aquarius annum?”

“ If these things be done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry *?” Excuse me for employing a sentence of Scripture on this occasion; I apply it very seriously. One thing relieves me a little under the ill prospect I have of spending my time at the Deanry this winter; that I shall have the opportunity of seeing you oftener; though, I am afraid, you will have little

Only †, D. D. Thomas Dent, D. D. Thomas Lynford, D. D. Edward Gee, D. D. Prebendaries; with Dr. Freind, and William Farrer, Esq. The Bishop prevailed; the decree was reversed May 16, 1721; and the new Dormitory was, in consequence, directed to be built in the College-garden, as a more proper place than where the old one stood.

* Luke xxiii. 31.

† Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster, for 42 years, and for a long period Master of the Savoy. He died at Ealing, Sept. 28, 1724, aged 84. See vol. I. p. 160.

pleasure in seeing me there. So much for my ill state of health, which I had not touched on, had not your friendly letter been so full of it. One civil thing that you say in it made me think you had been reading Mr. Waller; and possessed of that image at the end of his copy, *à la malade*, had you not bestowed it on one who has no right to the least part of the character. If you have not read the verses lately, I am sure you remember them, because you forget nothing:

“ With such a grace you entertain,

“ And look with such contempt on pain, &c.”

I mention them not on the account of that couplet, but one that follows; which ends with the very same rhymes and words [*appear* and *clear*] that the couplet but one after that does—and therefore in my Waller there is a various reading of the first of these couplets; for there it runs thus,

“ So lightnings in a stormy air

“ Scorch more than when the sky is fair.”

You will say that I am not very much in pain, nor very busy, when I can relish these amusements: and you will say true; for at present I am in both these respects very easy.

I had not strength enough to attend Mr. Prior * to his grave; else I would have done it, to have shewed his friends that I had forgot and forgiven what he wrote on me †. He is buried, as he desired, at the feet of
Spenser :

* Who died at Wimple, Sept. 18, 1721, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 25th.

† Two severe Epigrams against Atterbury have been ascribed to Prior, and are both inserted in the late collection of
his

Spenser : and I will take care to make good in every respect what I said to him when living ; particularly as to the Triplet * he wrote for his own Epitaph ; which, while we were on good terms, I promised him should never appear on his tomb while I was Dean of Westminster.

I am pleased to find you have so much pleasure, and (which is the foundation of it) so much health, at Lord Bathurst's : may my Lord have as much satisfaction in building the house in the wood, and using it when built, as you have in designing it ! I cannot send a wish

his Works. One of them, admitted by Warburton into Pope's Works, 1751, but since rejected, runs thus :

“ Meek Francis lies here, Friend. Without stop or stay,
As you value your peace, make the best of your way.
Though at present arrested by Death's caitiff paw,
If he flirs, he may still have recourse to the law.
And in the King's Bench should a verdict be found
That by livery and seisin his grave is his ground,
He will claim to himself what is strictly his due,
And an action of trespass will straightway ensue,
That you, without right, on his premises tread,
On a simple surmise that the owner is dead.”

The other was occasioned by the funeral of the Duke of Buckingham, whom Prior survived but a few months :

“ I have no hopes,” the Duke he says, and dies ;
“ In sure and certain hopes,” the Prelate cries :
Of these two learned Peers, I pr'ythee, say, man,
Who is the lying Knave, the Priest or Layman ?
The Duke he stands an infidel contest,
“ He's our dear Brother,” quoth the lordly Priest.
The Duke, though Knave, still “ Brother dear” he cries ;
And who can say, the Reverend Prelate lies ?

* “ To me 'tis given to dye, to you 'tis given
To live : alas ! one moment sets us even.
Mark how impartial is the will of Heaven !

after him that means him more happiness; and yet, I am sure, I wish him as much as he wishes himself. I am, &c.

FR. ROFFEN.

CCLXXIV. To Mr. POPE.

Bromley, Oct. 15, 1721.

NOTWITHSTANDING I write this on Sunday even, to acknowledge the receipt of yours this morning; yet I foresee it will not reach you till Wednesday morning: and before set of sun that day I hope to reach my winter quarters * at the Deanry. I *hope* did I say? I recall that word, for it implies desire: and God knows that is far from being the case: for I never part with this place but with regret, though I generally keep here what Mr. Cowley calls *the worst* of company in the world, my own; and see either none beside, or, what is worse than none, † some of the *Arrii* or *Sebosi* of my neighbourhood: characters, which Tully paints so well in one of his Epistles, and complains of the too civil but impertinent interruption they gave him in his retirement. Since I have named those gentlemen, and the book is not far from me, I will turn to the place ‡, and, by pointing it out to you, give you

* It has been observed to me, from this passage, and from another in p. 120. that our Bishop "was too infirm to engage in such a plot as was ascribed to him. And let any one judge," says my correspondent, "if the Writer of the Letter dated March 16, 1721-2, could possibly have been so engaged."

† This either the Bishop forgot to do; or the first Editor of the Letter neglected to preserve it.

the pleasure of perusing the epistle *, which is a very agreeable one if my memory does not fail me.

I am surprized to find that my Lord Bathurst and you are parted so soon. He has been sick, I know, of some late transactions; but, should that sickness continue still in some measure, I prophesy it will be quite off by the beginning of November; a letter or two from his London-friends, and a surfeit of solitude, will soon make him change his resolution and his quarters. I vow to you, I could live here with pleasure all the winter, and be contented with hearing no more news than the London Journal†, or some such trifling paper,

* The passage which the Bishop thought he had here exactly pointed out, if not transcribed, is the 14th letter of the second book of the Epistles to Atticus, where he thus describes the interruption of his visitors in his Formian retreat: "I have a court instead of a country-house: so great is the resort of the people of Formiæ to it, that you would think the whole Emilian tribe, the largest in Rome, attended my levee. But I pass over the bulk of attendants, who leave me after the fourth hour. C. Arrius, my next-door neighbour, the same who was formerly my companion, protests he will not go to Rome, but spend whole days in conversing with me on philosophical subjects. On the other side I have Sebolus, the friend of Catulus. What can I do? I would make the best of my way to Arpinum, if it were not more convenient for me to wait for you here, at least till the 6th of May. For only think what kind of men I am obliged to listen to! It would be an admirable opportunity, if any person, while they are with me, should offer to purchase this villa." In the subsequent letter (XV.) Cicero resumes the subject. The country gentlemen, then resident in the vicinity of the episcopal palace at Bromley, were much obliged to the Prelate for informing his correspondent that the company of these Arrii and Seboli of his neighbourhood was worse than none—"si solus non potuero, cum rusticis potius quam cum his perurbanis."

† In this paper he was in the following year severely attacked by Bishop Hoadly.

affords me, did not the duty of my place require, absolutely require, my attendance at Westminster; where, I hope, the prophet will now and then remember he has a "bed and a candlestick *." In short, I long to see you, and hope you will come, if not a day, yet at least an hour sooner to town than you intended, in order to afford me that satisfaction. I am now, I thank God, as well as ever I was in my life, except that I can walk scarce at all without crutches: and I would willingly compound the matter with the gout, to be no better, could I hope to be no worse; but that is a vain thought, I expect a new attack long before Christmas†. Let me see you therefore while I am in a condition to relish you, before the days (and the nights) come, when I shall (and must) say, "I have no pleasure in them."

I will bring your small volume of Pastorals along with me, that you may not be discouraged from lending me books, when you find me so punctual in returning them. Shakspeare ‡ shall bear it company, and be put into your hands as clear and as fair as it came out of them, though you, I think, have been dabbling here and there with the text; I have had some reverence for the writer and the printer, and left every thing standing just as I found it. However, I thank you for the pleasure you have given me in putting me upon reading him once more before I die.

* 2 Kings, iv. 10.

† See p. 118.

‡ Mr. Pope's edition of Shakspeare was published in 1721, in six volumes, 4to. "On this undertaking, to which Pope was induced by a reward of two hundred and seventeen pounds, twelve shillings, he seems never to have reflected afterwards without vexation." Dr. JOHNSON.

I believe I shall scarce repeat that pleasure any more, having *other work to do, and other things to think of**, but none that will interfere with the offices of friendship, in the exchange of which with you, Sir, I hope to live and die, yours, &c. FR. ROFFEN.

P. S. Addison's works came to my hands yesterday. I cannot but think it a very odd sett of incidents, that the book should be dedicated by a † dead man ‡ to a dead man; and even that the new § patron, to whom Tickell chose to inscribe his verses, should be dead also before they were published. Had I been in the Editor's place, I should have been a little apprehensive for myself, under a thought that every one who had any hand in that work was to die before the publication of it. You see, when I am conversing with you, I know not how to give over, till the very bottom of the paper admonishes me once more to bid you adieu!

* It might be very easy *now* to apply a meaning to these remarkable expressions.

† Mr. Addison. ‡ Mr. Craggs. § Lord Warwick.

* * * "Whereas several Booksellers have printed several surreptitious and incorrect Editions of Letters as mine, some of which are not so, and others interpolated; and whereas there are daily Advertisements of second and third Volumes of more such Letters, particularly my Correspondence with the late Bishop of Rochester; I think myself under a necessity to publish such of the said Letters as are genuine, with the addition of some others of a nature less insignificant; especially those which passed between the said Bishop and myself, or were any way relating to him; which shall be printed with all convenient speed. A. POPE."

London Daily Post, July 19, 17 5.

CCLXXV *. From Dr. WALL †.

Shoreham, near Sevenoke, Dec. 9, [1721]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THE difficulty (which your Lordship mentions) of ascertaining the time or year when each of the Evangelists wrote, is a thing that I have often thought of; but have not met with any author treating of it, other than what I guess your Lordship must have seen.

It is plain that St. Matthew wrote the first of the Gospels that we have. It has been usual for many ages, till of late, for Commentators and learned men to take the estimate of the time of his writing from Eusebius. He does not name any year; but says, l. iii. c. 24. that "St. Matthew having for several years stayed at or about Jerusalem preaching to the Jewish converts, did afterwards (when he and the Apostles were to go abroad in the world) write for their use, in his and their native language, the substance of the Gospel that had been preached to them, and left it with them to supply the want of the continuance of his personal teaching." Now there is a very current and received tradition (confirmed by Apollodorus in Eusebius, and by the *Κρίσις των Πράξεων*, &c.) that the time when the Apostles did so go abroad was about 12 years after Christ's Ascension. And ac-

* Indorsed by Bp. Atterbury, "Dr. Wall, Dec. 9, 1721, "relating (chiefly) to the several times at which the Four "Gospels were written." See vol. IV. p. 422.

† William Wall, D. D. Vicar of Shoreham, in Kent, and author of "The History of Infant Baptism, 1707," 4to. See a note at the end of the next Letter.

cordingly

cordingly the year of Matthew's writing has been generally guessed at about anno Domini 45; Dr. Hammond, from the Title or Preface to this Gospel in some old MSS. at eight years after the Ascension, ann. 41. However, there or thereabouts the date was commonly placed.

Some Critics of late have observed a passage in Irenæus, l. iii. c. 1. from whence they think it must be concluded that Matthew wrote much later, viz. ann. 61 at soonest; which is twenty-eight years after the Ascension. It does not seem to me to be fairly concluded from the words that that was Irenæus's meaning. Nor, if it were, can it be true. He is not there treating of years or dates of times, but only in a general way, shewing that the books which we have do contain the same account of things *in writing*, which the Apostles and other sufficient witnesses had preached up and down the world *vivâ voce*; and, among other things, says, *Matthew among the Hebrews wrote the Gospel in their own language*, &c. τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τῷ Παύλῳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων, καὶ θεμελιώζων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τέτων ἐξόδου Μάρκος, &c. From which words they screw this sense, that Matthew wrote precisely at a time when Peter and Paul were both together at Rome. Which time is very hard to be found. The time when they were both martyr'd there (ann. 68) is too late to be pretended. As for the former time of St. Paul's being there a prisoner, during the years 61, 62, St. Peter may possibly be supposed to have been there some time before that (Lactantius says, that he came thither in Nero's time; which lasts from the end of 54 to the end of 68). But

if he were there at that time, it is a wonder that neither St. Luke takes any notice of it; nor St. Paul mentions him in any of the Epistles wrote from thence. So that it is not probable that their *ἔξοδος*, as Irenæus calls it, *their departure from thence*, could be of both of them at the same time. And likewise, if St. Peter were there *anno* 63, when St. Paul wrote from Corinth thither, and *testified* abundance of his acquaintance there, he says nothing of him.

St. Matthew (and indeed one or both of the other *evangelists*) before St. Paul ever came to Rome (*viz.* *anno* 61), is, I think, plain, from minding these steps or periods of time.

First St. Luke wrote the Acts about the latter end of St. Paul's imprisonment, and before he was released: for no Historian would leave St. Paul a prisoner, if he had been released at the time of his writing. That book therefore was written the latter end of 62; after the Ascension 29.

2. This was after having written his *former treatise**, *viz.* his Gospel. It is not known how long before; suppose one year, *viz.* 61.

3. St. Mark had written and published his Gospel before St. Luke began his. And St. Luke must have had it before him when he wrote: for in many passages which are in Mark, and not in Matthew, he takes (as Dr. Mill† observes) "*ipsas phrasas, phrases, &c.*"
"imo"

* Acts i. 1.

† John Mill, D. D. Principal of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford. His edition of the Greek Testament, for which he will be ever memorable, was published about a fortnight before

"*imo vero totas periochas,*" into his History; and when Matthew and Mark have some circumstantial differences in relating the same passages, he follows St. Mark. Any one may make the comparison. But Dr. Mill was a proper judge of this: because his business lay in comparing every word, apex, and syllable. It is not known how long St. Mark had wrote before. Suppose one year; then it is 60.

4. St. Matthew's Gospel had been translated into Greek before St. Mark wrote. The proof of this is the same as of the other. Some think Mark did design

fore his death, which happened June 23, 1707. The title of it is, "*Novum Testamentum Græcum, cum lectionibus variantibus MSS. exemplarium, versionum, editionum, S. S. patrum & scriptorum ecclesiasticorum; & in easdem notis. Accedunt loca Scripturæ parallela, aliæque exegetica. Præmittitur dissertatio de libris Novi Testamenti, canonis constitutione, & sacri textus novi fœderis ad nostra usque tempora historia.*" This most elaborate work was undertaken by the advice of Bp. Fell, at whose charge the impression was begun. But, after the Bishop's death, his executors not being willing to carry on the undertaking, Dr. Mill refunded the costs which the Bishop had been at, and finished the impression at his own expence. He was employed thirty years upon this edition; and if the expectations of the learned foreigners, as well as English, were raised high about it, we do not find that they were at all disappointed. "I own," says M. L'Enfant, in a letter to Le Clerc, "that the Prolegomena especially have even exceeded mine." It was, however, attacked by Dr. Whitby, in his "*Examen variantium lectionum Johannis Millii, S. T. P. &c. 1710.*" It seems the various readings, which Dr. Mill had collected, amounted, as it was supposed, to above 30,000; and this alarmed Dr. Whitby, who thought that the text was made precarious, and a handle thereby given to the Free-thinkers. But to this objection Dr. Bentley, in his "*Phileleutherus Lipsiensis,*" p. 90, &c. has given a full and decisive answer. See the note in p. 130.

no more than an epitome of Matthew. Though that be not true (for he has several passages that are not in Matthew); yet in most places he follows both the order and the Greek phrase of St. Matthew's interpreter almost (as Mill's is) *αὐτολεξεί*. For this suppose one year; then it is 59.

5. After Matthew wrote in Judæa in Hebrew, some time must be before any Greek Christian undertook and finished the translation. Suppose one year; then it is 58, which is three years before St. Paul was carried to Rome. And I have made the lowest allowances for distance of time.

It is probable some of them were much larger. But, however, this shews that Irenæus's words ought not to be so taken as they take them, for any strict comparison of time of years; but only in general, that while some of the Apostles, Matthew, &c. wrote or travelled in the East, others, as Paul, Peter, Mark, &c. wrote and founded churches in the West; without fixing the synchronism of either. And then there remains no objection, that I know of, against Eusebius's account.

That it was some number of years before St. Matthew wrote is probable from his last chapter; where, speaking of a report common among the Jews, he expressed it, "It is commonly reported among them to this day." But twelve years distance will justify such an expression. Nor was it at all incongruous that the word should be first sufficiently confirmed by the attestation of living witnesses and preachers in many places of the world before any writing of it should be drawn up. And, besides, the Epistles of St. Paul were written some of them
early,

early, and do contain in them a supposal of most of the acts of the Gospel. If the Deists receive them, they will get nothing by their exceptions against the other.

I do not know of any remarks that have been made by learned men on these matters, but what Dr. Mill does take notice of in his short account of the date of all the books of N. T. in his Prolegomena. I confess, he does not seem to me to make always the most judicious conclusions; and particularly not in this case of St. Matthew's Gospel, nor of the other two, which have no character of time, but only that they follow St. Matthew.

It is notorious that Matthew's Gospel was sooner divulged and more universally read in all the world than either of the other. Not only the eldest Christians, Clement, Ignatius, &c. recite more of his texts than of the other; but the Heathens, as Celsus, &c. who do endeavour to represent as absurd some passages of Christ's life and actions, take their account from St. Matthew, and seem never to have seen any other.

I humbly crave your Lordship's pardon for troubling you with so long a talk, which must seem tedious and impertinent, unless I had been able to recollect or find (what your Lordship wished for) something beyond the ordinary observations. And yet I must crave leave to add a few words concerning another matter, which your Lordship will think as impertinent for me to mention. While I was making in the books I have some searches after the things spoken of in your Lordship's letter (viz. four or five days ago), Mr. Thomas, who is my assistant at Milton, came hither, and told me (a thing which

which I am sorry to hear), that Mr. D'oyly *, vicar of St. Nicholas Church at Rochester, is in so ill a state of health, that the physicians despair of his recovery ; and that he is advised by friends to petition your Lordship, if Mr. D'oyly do die, to give him the place ; and desired me to write to your Lordship in his behalf. I made my excuses, both from the improbability of the thing's succeeding to him, among so many competitors as must be supposed, and also from the averfeness I have against solicitations of that nature. He seemed to take it ill if I would not at least, on such an occasion, give your Lordship an account or testimony of his behaviour and character. Now that is a thing which indeed I can willingly do, viz. that he is a sober, well-tempered, and prudent man, very diligent in his parochial duties, and one with whom the people are, I think, well satisfied ; conformable to all orders of the Church, and helps me much in bringing the people to a conformity in the office of baptism, and other things. And he is, I think, also very cordial in those found

* Samuel D'oyly, M. A. a man of great taste and learning, as well as of an uncommon corpulence (which prevented his attending his duty as an Army-chaplain in Flanders in the war of 1741, as no horse could carry him) lived, however, near 21 years longer. Archbishop Herring, when Dean of Rochester, thus mentions him in his viiith letter to Mr. Duncombe, dated from that city, Dec. 17, 1735, " Mr. D'oyly " spent an evening with me lately ; he is much your humble servant, and a very genteel and agreeable companion." And in his xxviiiith letter, dated Kensington, May 18, 1748, " Poor D'oyly's death I heard of the day after it happened. " I remember his collection of books. I should be glad to " see a catalogue of them, and possibly I might think of purchasing them." They were purchased afterwards by Mr. Whiston the bookseller.

principles of the Church of England from which some of the Clergy have of late years revolted : in short, a good and friendly man, with whom I should unwillingly part, unless any thing offer to his advancement.

But I once again crave your Lordship's pardon ; and am, my Lord, your Lordship's most dutiful son and servant,

WM. WALL.

CCLXXVI. To Dr. WALL.

REVEREND SIR,

Bromley, Feb 2, 1721-2.

I AM very thankful to you for a letter I received some time ago, and should have acknowledged sooner, if the hurry of parliamentary and other business had not so far taken up my time as to leave no room for other matters. I am got hither now for a few days, upon a very melancholy occasion, my wife's illness * ; and, having more leisure here, take this opportunity of putting my letter into your son's hands, and leave it to him to send it.

I acknowledge the justness of your observations in relation to the times of writing the three first Gospels, as far as your proofs of that kind go : but I hope I shall, by God's blessing, be able to fix the date of them much higher than those proofs reach ; and that chiefly (though not solely) by internal evidences drawn from the books themselves. For as to the evidence of testimony, it is so obscure, and withal so various and repugnant (even that which we have from the pens of greatest credit among the Ancients) that, as I despair of

* See pp. 139. 141.

reconciling the several parts of it, so I doubt whether I shall be able from thence to draw light enough to fix the several times of writing those Gospels with any exactness.

Dr. Mill is, as you say, very injudicious; and there cannot be a greater proof of his being so, than that of his altering his opinion two or three times over, in points of consequence, while the impresson of the New Testament was under his hands. This appears in his own edition; but in that from Holland * is often concealed. As to the present point, I am well informed, that he had all he has wrote of the Canon of Scripture from Bp. Lloyd †, whose authority he implicitly submitted to; especially when he had in many respects (particularly as to the late times of writing the several Gospels) the concurring opinion of Mr. Dodwell ‡.

* An edition of Mill's Greek Testament was published there in 1708 by the learned Kuster; in which he had compared the text with twelve manuscripts which Mill never saw. Of these twelve there were nine in the King of France's library; but, excepting one, which has all the books of the New Testament, the rest contain no more than the Four Gospels. The tenth manuscript belonged to Carpzovius, a minister at Leipzig, and contains the four Gospels. The eleventh was brought from Greece by Seidel of Berlin; but it had not the Four Gospels. The last, on which Kuster laid the greatest stress, was communicated to him by Bornier, who bought it at the public sale of the library of Francius, Professor of Rhetoric at Amsterdam. Kuster's preface is followed by a letter of Le Clerc concerning Mill's work. See pp. 124, 125.

† Of Worcester.

‡ The pious and learned Mr. Henry Dodwell, of Shottesbrook in Berkshire; of whom there is a good Life by F. Brokesby, 1716, 8vo. Mr. Dodwell died June 7, 1711, in his 70th year. His publications are numerous and respectable.

The last of these first started that notion of the Acts being a second volume of the same book, wherein St. Luke had comprized both his Gospel and the Acts, which Mr. Dodwell will have written and published at the same time. And consequently, since we know the time of St. Luke's writing the Acts, he and Mill, and others, think we know also the time of his writing the other. To have undeceived themselves in this matter, they need but have considered that expression in St. Paul's speech to the Elders of Ephesus, recorded by St. Luke, where he repeats some remarkable words of Christ, not to be found in his own Gospel *. Now it is inconceivable that he should have done this, if his own Gospel had not then been published; for, as appears from the Acts, St. Luke was present with St. Paul when this speech was made; his narration running there all along in the style of the first person plural. And had his Gospel not then been written and published, he would certainly have satisfied himself concerning the time and circumstances of so remarkable a saying of our Lord, and have inserted it into his story. And yet this speech to the Ephesian Elders was, if I remember right (for I am here without books or papers), five or six years before the time at which the Acts end, and probably somewhat more before they were published. This one observation carries the writing of St. Luke's Gospel, and consequently that of the preceding Gospels, backward to a time nearer the resurrection of Christ than our best Writers on the canon have of late been willing to allow. How they came to be willing

* "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

so easily to yield up such a point, I do not see; for I take it to be clear that the earlier the Gospels can be proved to have been written, the less room is left to Infidelity to doubt of the truth of the History in every respect. Had they even attended to the first Chapter of the Acts, they might have found that that relation of the ascent of Christ and the death of Judas was so far from being written at the same time with St. Luke's Gospel, that it is manifestly a supplement to it, containing particulars of which he had not been exactly informed when he wrote his Gospel; but which he found afterwards a proper occasion of supplying at the entrance of the Acts. For, had St. Luke known these circumstances of the Ascension particularly when he was writing his Gospel, it is not easy to imagine a reason why he did not insert them.

Of this internal kind I have furnished myself with several arguments, which, put together, seem to carry great weight with them. But I will trouble you with nothing farther concerning them now; and have said thus much only to shew you what I aim at, and by what methods I propose to compass it; that, if any thing falls in your way, favouring this scheme, or prejudicial to it, you will let me know of it when we see one another, as I hope we shall do next summer at this place. In the mean time, I am thankful to you for your opinion concerning the sense of Irenæus's words, which you have already sent me, and with which I agree.

To be fair, I must add that there is one passage in St. Mark, the last verse of his Gospel, which seems to

me, as far as I can yet judge, to draw down the writing of that Gospel lower than I am willing, if I can help it, to allow: "They went forth, and preached the Gospel every where; the Lord also working with them, and confirming, &c." I repeat these words without consulting the Bible, and therefore may not, perhaps, be exact in them. But they are strong in the original, and imply that the Gospel had actually been preached by the Apostles in many distant parts of the world when that verse was written. I say *verse*, not Gospel; because it is possible that verse might have been added many years after the Gospel was published; and you know there are many ancient MSS. without the latter part of St. Mark in them. But this is a way of arguing I am not willing to take refuge in; having always thought that Grotius indulged his conjectures of this kind too freely.

But I trouble you no more now; referring myself to the time when I shall be at liberty to discourse you on this occasion; and desiring you in the mean time, if any thing occurs to your thoughts tending this way, to make a memorandum of it on paper.

I suppose the controversy is dead with Dr. Gale *, unless he left any papers that were near finished. In
that

* Dr. John Gale, a learned Divine among the Baptists; who had published in 1711 *Reflections on Mr. Wall's History of "Infant Baptism."* In 1719, a friendly conference was held on the subject between him and Mr. Wall; which ending without conviction on either side, Mr. Wall published "*A Defence of the History of Infant Baptism, 1719.*" and received for that performance the degree of D. D. from Oxford. Dr. Gale was preparing a rejoinder, but was stopped by death in Dec. 1721. An original picture of him (now in

that case, the party * will publish them. As to what you say about Mr. Thomas, I think well of him, and your recommendation will always be of weight with me. But the gentleman you mentioned as dying is, I hear, recovered †.

I wish you long life and health; and am, Reverend Sir, your very affectionate brother, FR. ROFFEN.

CCLXXVII. From Mr. POPE.

MY LORD,

Feb. 8, 1711-2.

IT is so long since I had the pleasure of an hour with your Lordship, that I should begin to think myself no longer "*Amicus omnium horarum*," but for finding myself so in my constant thoughts of you. In those I was with you many hours this very day, and had you (where I wish and hope one day to see you really) in my garden at Twickenham. When I went last to town, and was on wing for the Deanry, I heard your Lordship was gone the day before to Bromley, and there you continued till after my return hither. I sincerely wish you whatever you wish yourself, and all you wish your friends or family. All I mean by this word or two is just to tell you so, till in person I find you as I desire, that is, find you well; easy, resigned, and happy, you will make yourself, and (I believe) every body that converses with you; if I may judge of your power over other men's minds and affections by that which you will ever have over those of A. POPE.

the possession of the Rev. Mr. Duncombe) was painted by Mr. Highmore in 1719, from which Vertue engraved a print (prefixed to his Sermons). He was but 42 when he died. See the "Illustrations" at the end of this volume, N^o 11.

* The Baptists.

† See p. 128.

CCLXXVIII. To Mr. POPE.

Feb. 26, 1721-2.

PERMIT me, dear Sir, to break into your retirement, and to desire of you a complete copy of those verses on Mr. Addison*. Send me also your last resolution, which shall punctually be observed in relation to my giving out any copy of it; for I am again

* These verses were originally sent in MS. to Mr. Addison in 1715. An able vindication of Addison was written by Mr. Jeremiah Markland †, then a young man, and afterwards the celebrated critic. Both were printed together, by Curll, so early as 1717. And perhaps this circumstance may furnish a clue to what has been so ably discussed by Judge Blackstone, in the "Biographia Britannica," under the article ADDISON. The epistle to Arbuthnot was not published till January, 1735. That to Augustus, with some others, appeared in 1738.—"I have seen Mr. Pope's best performances, and find that he pleases the town most when he is most out of humour with the Court. He has made very free with his gracious Majesty, in the Epistle to Augustus. But he had lost his favourite Bill; even my Lord Harley had carried a point against him; and while he is angry, he will never be idle. In this last epistle ‡ he seems to have recanted all he had before said of Addison." *MS. Letter from Mr. Clarke to Mr. Bowyer, July 6, 1738.*

† It is, however, a little doubtful whether Curll's Markland was the same with Jeremiah. Q. was there another J. Markland of Peter-house? No such appears among the Graduates.

‡ " (Excuse some courtly strains)

" No whiter page than Addison remains;
 " He from the taste obscene reclaims our youth,
 " And sets the passions on the side of truth;
 " Forms the soft bosom with the gentlest art,
 " And pours each human virtue in the heart." Ver. 215—220.

solicited by another Lord, to whom I have given the same answer as formerly. No small piece of your writing has been ever sought after so much : it has pleased every man, without exception, to whom it has been read. Since you now therefore know where your real strength lies, I hope you will not suffer that talent to lie unemployed. For my part, I should be so glad to see you finish something of that kind, that I could be content to be a little sneered at in a line or so, for the sake of the pleasure I should have in reading the rest. I have talked my sense of this matter to you once or twice ; and now I put it under my hand, that you may see it is my deliberate opinion. What weight that may have with you, I cannot say : but it pleases me to have an opportunity of shewing you how well I wish you, and how true a friend I am to your fame, which I desire may grow every day, and in every kind of writing to which you shall please to turn your pen. Not but that I have some little interest in the proposal, as I shall be known to have been acquainted with a man * that was capable of excelling in such different manners, and did such honour to his country and language ; and yet was not displeased sometimes to read what was written by his humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

* This was effectually done by Pope's elegant epitaph on our Bishop, preserved in the poetical part of this Collection.

CCLXXIX. From Mr. Pope.

March 14, 1721-2.

I WAS disappointed (much more than those who commonly use that phrase on such occasions) in missing you at the Deanry, where I lay solitary two nights. Indeed I truly partake in any degree of concern that affects you; and I wish every thing may succeed as you desire in your own family, and in that which I think you no less account your own, and is no less your family, the whole world: for I take you to be one of the true friends of it, and to your power its protector. Though the noise and daily bustle for the publick be now over*, I dare say a good man is still tendering its welfare; as the sun in the winter, when seeming to retire from the world, is preparing benedictions and warmth for a better season. No man wishes your Lordship more quiet, more tranquillity, than I, who know you should understand the value of it: but I do not wish you a jot less concerned or less active than you are, in all sincere, and therefore warm, desires of public good.

I beg the kindness (and it is for that chiefly I trouble you with this letter) to favour me with notice as soon as you return to London, that I may come and make you a proper visit of a day or two: for hitherto I have not been your Visiter, but your Lodger, and I accuse myself of it. I have now no earthly thing to oblige my

* Alluding to the dissolution of the Parliament, four days before.

being

being in town (a point of no small satisfaction to me) but the best reason, the seeing a friend. As long, my Lord, as you will let me call you so (and I dare say you will, till I forfeit what I think I never shall, my veracity and integrity) I shall esteem myself fortunate, in spite of the South Sea, Poetry, Popery, and Poverty.

I cannot tell you how sorry I am, you should be troubled anew by any sort of people. I heartily wish, *Quod superest, ut tibi vivas*—that you may teach me how to do the same; who, without any real impediment to acting and living rightly, do act and live as foolish as if I were a Great Man.

I am, &c.

A. POPE.

CCLXXIII. To Mr. POPE.

March 16, 1721-2.

AS a visitant, a lodger, a friend (or under what other denomination soever), you are always welcome to me; and will be more so, I hope, every day that we live: for, to tell you the truth, I like you as I like myself, best when we have both of us least business. It has been my fate to be engaged in it much and often, by the stations in which I was placed*: but God, that knows my heart, knows I never loved it; and am still less in love with it than ever, as I find less temptation to act with any hope of success. If I am good for any thing, it is *in angulo cum libello*; and yet a good part of my time has been spent, and perhaps must still be spent,

* In his offices at Christ Church, and in his several Deanries.

far

far otherwise: for I will never, while I have health, be wanting to my duty in any post, or in any respect, how little soever I may like my employment, and how hopeless soever I may be in the discharge of it.

In the mean time the judicious world is pleased to think that I delight in work which I am obliged to undergo, and aim at things which I from my heart despise. Let them think as they will, so I might be at liberty to act as I will, and spend my time in such a manner as is most agreeable to me. I cannot say I do so now; for I am here without any books, and if I had them could not use them to my satisfaction while my mind is taken up in a more melancholy manner*; and how long or how little a while it may be so taken up God only knows, and to his will I implicitly resign myself in every thing.

FR. ROFFEN.

CCLXXXI. From Mr. POPE.

MY LORD,

March 19, 1721-2.

I AM extremely sensible of the repeated favour of your kind letters, and your thoughts of me in absence, even among thoughts of much nearer concern to yourself on the one hand, and of much more importance to the world on the other, which cannot but engage you at this juncture. I am very certain of your

* In his Lady's last sickness; whom, it is remarkable, he seldom expressly mentions in any one of his letters; though in pp. 129. 141. he seems to speak about her with much tenderness. She died April 26, 1722.

good

good will, and of the warmth which is in you inseparable from it.

Your remembrance of Twittenham is a fresh instance of partiality. I hope the advance of the fine season will set you upon your legs, enough to enable you to get into my garden, where I will carry you up a Mount, in a point of view to shew you the glory of my little kingdom. If you approve it, I shall be in danger to boast like Nebuchadnezzar of the things I have made, and to be turned to converse, not with the beasts of the field, but with the birds of the grove, which I shall take to be no great punishment: for indeed I heartily despise the ways of the world, and most of the great ones of it.

“ Oh, keep me innocent, make others great !”

And you may judge how comfortably I am strengthened in this opinion, when such as your Lordship bear testimony to its vanity and emptiness. *Tiamit, inane est*, with the picture of one ringing on the globe with his finger, is the best thing I have the luck to remember in that great Poet Quarles, (not that I forget the Devil at bowls* ; which I know to be your Lordship's favourite cut, as well as favourite diversion.)

The situation here is pleasant, and the view rural enough to humour the most retired, and agree with the most contemplative ; good air, solitary groves, and sparing diet, sufficient to make you fancy yourself (what you are in temperance, though elevated into a

* One of the quaintest of Quarles's Emblems.

greater figure by your station) one of the Fathers of the Desert. Here you may think (to use an Author's words whom you so justly prefer to all his followers that you will receive them kindly though taken from his worst work *)

“ That in Eliah's banquet you partake,
“ Or sit a guest with Daniel at his pulse.”

I am sincerely free with you, as you desire I should, and approve of your not having your coach here, for if you would see Lord Carteret or any body else, I have another chariot, besides that little one you laughed at when you compared me to Homer in a nut-shell. But if you would be entirely private, nobody shall know any thing of the matter. Believe me, my Lord, no man is with more perfect acquiescence, nay with more willing acquiescence (not even any of your own Sons of the Church) your obedient, &c. A. POPE.

CCLXXXII. To Mr. POPE.

April 6, 1722.

UNDER all the leisure in the world, I have no leisure, no stomach, to write to you; the gradual approaches of death are before my eyes †: I am convinced that it must be so; and yet make a shift to flatter myself sometimes with the thought that it may possibly be otherwise. And that very thought, though it

* “Paradise Regained.” I suppose this was in compliment to the Bishop. It could hardly be his own opinion. WARBURTON.

† His Lady was then in her last illness. See pp. 129. 139.

is directly contrary to my reason, does for a few moments make me easy, however not easy enough in good earnest to think of any thing but the melancholy object that employs them. Therefore wonder not that I do not answer your kind letter. I shall answer it too soon, I fear, by accepting your friendly invitation. When I do so, no conveniences will be wanting: for I will see nobody but you and your mother, and the servants. Visits to Statesmen always were to me (and are now more than ever) insipid things; let the men that expect, that wish to thrive by them, pay them that homage; I am free. When I want them, they shall hear of me at their doors: and when they want me, I shall be sure to hear of them at mine. But probably they will despise me so much, and I shall court them so little, that we shall both of us keep our distance.

When I come to you, it is in order to be with you only; a President of the Council, or a Star and Garter, will make no more impression upon my mind, at such a time, than the hearing of a bag-pipe, or the sight of a puppet-show. I have said to Greatness some time ago—

“Tuas tibi res habeto, Egomet curabo meas.”

The time is not far off when we shall all be upon the level: and I am resolved, for my part, to anticipate that time, and be upon the level with them now: for he is so, that neither seeks nor wants them. Let them have more virtue, and less pride: and then I will court them as much as any body; till they resolve to distinguish themselves some way else than by their outward trappings,

trappings, I am determined (and I think I have a right) to be as proud as they are : though, I trust in God, my pride is neither of so odious a nature as theirs, nor of so mischievous a consequence.

I know not how I have fallen into this train of thinking—when I sat down to write, I intended only to excuse myself for not writing, and to tell you that the time drew nearer and nearer when I must dislodge : I am preparing for it ; for I am at this moment building a vault in the Abbey for me and mine *. It was to be in the Abbey, because of my relation to the place ; but it is at the West door of it : as far from Kings and Kæfars as the space will admit of.

I know not but I may step to town to-morrow, to see how the work goes forward ; but if I do, I shall return hither in the evening. I would not have given you the trouble of this letter, but that they tell me it will cost you nothing, and that our privilege of Franking † (one of the most valuable we have left) is again allowed us.

FR. ROFFEN.

* In the Consistory-court, probably, where early morning prayers are now read, and where a new wainscoting has been lately made under the window. He had a particular licence for this purpose from the Chapter, as appears from a board still remaining in the Consistory-court, on which is painted an order, dated in 1755, allowing Dr. Wilcocks to “ make a vault for “ five or six persons, in like manner as had been granted to “ Dean Neal and Dean Atterbury.” Bp. Wilcocks, who died March 9, 1756, aged 83, was buried under that court, with his wife Jane, who died March 35, 1725, aged 28, and a daughter, who died in infancy. See an inscription on Bp. Atterbury's Lady, in a note on a Letter dated, May 7, 1722.

† Which had been suspended by the dissolution of the Parliament.

CCLXXXIII. To Dean Moss*.

GOOD MR. DEAN,

Bromley, Monday morning [April, 1712.]

I HAVE made a shift (notwithstanding my mind at present is far otherwife employed†) to run over the vile pamphlet‡ you sent me, which I had not seen before, having been here now for eleven days, and out of the way of all such papers.

Your guess as to the hands from whence it came § may be right: however, I cannot but suspect a little that

* Robert Moss was born at Gillingham in Norfolk 1666; admitted bazar at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1682; B. A. and Fellow 1685; M. A. 1689; D. D. 1696; acquired great reputation both as a disputant and a preacher; was a candidate for the place of Public Orator, which he lost by a very few votes; preacher at Gray's Inn, 1696; assistant preacher to Dr. Wake at St. James's, 1699; chaplain in ordinary to King William; created D. D. 1705, when Queen Anne visited the University of Cambridge. Upon the resignation of Dr. Stanhope 1708, the parishioners of St. Lawrence Jewry invited him to accept their Tuesday lecture; and on the death of Dr. Roderick the Queen nominated him to the Deanry of Ely, in May 1712; and, it is supposed, would have advanced him to the Bishoprick had she survived Bishop Moore. This was the highest, but not the last, promotion he obtained in the Church; for in 1714 the rectory of Glifton, or Geddleston, in Hertfordshire, was given him by Bp. Robinson. He died, aged 63 years, March 26, 1729, totally debilitated by the gout and other infirmities, and was buried in the presbytery of his own cathedral under a plain stone with a simple inscription. I have a Life of him in MS. by his relation Dr. Z. Grey; which probably may be hereafter printed.

† See p. 141.

‡ See the following note.

§ The pamphlet here guessed at (occasioned by an act for granting liberty to the Quakers to use an affirmation instead of an oath,) was by Dr. Sykes, as appears from his Life, by Dr. Disney, 1785, p. 131. The name assumed by Dr. Sykes

was

that some of my own Bench had the direction of it. You know which of them * it was declared in the debate, "that Heathens themselves ought to be encouraged by Laws made in their favour, if they were " useful to the Government." And that is the darling notion of the book from one end to the other. Let it come from whence it will, it is a detestable piece, written with so much insincerity, and such contempt of Religion, as cannot but give every good man that reads it grief and indignation. But this is the hour of Darkness, and of the Power thereof.

It is certain the Writer deserves to be chastised; and I am glad you think of undertaking that work. For myself, the melancholy circumstances I am in (and how long I shall continue in them God knows) will not suffer me to turn my thoughts that way, to any purpose. However, I will be as useful to you in the attempt as I am able to be, especially if it pleases God to remove the cloud that at present hangs over my mind. I have no guess at the time when I shall be able to stir from hence; that depending all together on an event, the issue of which I must attend, but can no ways foresee †.

was "Joshua Freeman," and to that name Atterbury refers, p. 166. The full title is, "A Letter to Robert Mofs and Thomas Gooch, and to the rest of the Ministers, who, in a late " Petition to the House of Lords, styled themselves *the Clergy* " *in and about London*. To which is added, the Copy of a Paper, " intituled, 1. The Petition of the London Clergy to the " House of Lords, against the Quakers Bill. 2. The Lords " Protest on rejecting the said Petition. 3. The Lords Pro- " test against the Quakers Bill. By Joshua Freeman, 1722," 8vo, 70 pages.

* It was Dr. Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough. Bp. Atterbury spoke warmly against the bill; and joined in the Protest, which he probably drew up, as he did many others at that period.

† See pp. 156. 160.

But should I be able to come to the Deanry, or see you here, and discourse you on that subject, I will do it most gladly; being from the bottom of my heart concerned to see such notions countenanced in a Christian State, and the abettors of them preferred and applauded.

Good Mr. Dean, I can say no more to you now, but that I will, as I have opportunity, consider the Book a little, and give you my thoughts of it (such as they are) when I see you.

In the mean time, I pray God to prosper your good intentions; and to raise up from among the Clergy men of the like ability, zeal, and courage, who may stand in the gap, and resist that spirit of Irreligion which is breaking (or rather has broken) in upon us. I am always affectionately yours,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCLXXXIV.

To Lord LANSDOWNE, or General DILLON.

SIR,

April 20, 1722.

I OUGHT to acknowledge in form the several papers I have successively received from you, if I were capable at present of doing any thing regularly; but indeed I am not, as *Hatfield* * well knows, and why I am not. Some time must pass before I am any way capable of business; in the mean time, you are in the right to press the gentlemen concerned by all manner of ways you can think of, to furnish what, by being hitherto not supplied, has rendered the thing impracticable. They were desirous of having that matter en-

* Interpreted to be *Kelly*.—Dennis Kelly, Esq. died in July, 1749, at his country seat at Connaught, in the kingdom of Ireland.

tirely

tirely in their own management, and I not unwilling that they should have it, being always diffident of success on my part upon interpositions of that kind; and therefore it gave me no concern to be so freely excused from any share (as I was for a great while) in that trouble *. At last indeed, when the point was found upon trial

* This Letter and the two which follow it are ascribed to Bp. Atterbury on the authority of the highest Court of Judicature in the kingdom; a circumstance, a friend observes to me, "which tends to authenticate the Letters ascribed to Bishop Atterbury; but that it should be first proved that these Letters were ever written to, or by, the Bishop; as they might have been put into the Post-office, and there ordered to be stopped. The style is by no means Atterbury's; who never would have written 'you guess at my right mind,' &c."—The present Editor by no means wishes that the Letters may obtain more credit than they deserve, when opposed to the solemn assertions of the great Prelate who is supposed to have written them. He must observe, however, that, if he had not produced them, the Reader would have been justified in blaming him for suppressing evidence. Let the impartial judgement of posterity determine which is right. Since they were first printed, I have been favoured with the perusal of a volume of "Treasonable Letters," once belonging to the late Earl of Macclesfield, and now to Thomas Aille, Esq. which serve to shew what pains were taken by Government to unriddle the mysteries of the plot in which Bp. Atterbury was supposed to have engaged. The volume consists of a considerable number of letters, in disguised characters, supposed to be the correspondence of Bishop Atterbury with the Pretender, the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lansdowne, the Earl of Mar, the Chevalier Wogan, General Dillon, Jackson, Carte, Kelly, and others; and in the margin is a key to the various characters: but as the then Ministers of State judged it proper to fix on no more than the three letters exhibited in the House of Peers, I do not think myself justified in copying any others. They are accompanied with several Letters of advice, to the Lords Townshend and Carteret, from Sir Luke Schaub, Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Crawford, and other residents at foreign courts. Prefixed to the whole is the following remarkable examination.

trial to be more difficult than they expected, I was pressed to undertake the matter; but so late, that I did not think it reasonable for me then to interpose; nor can I yet undertake any thing of that kind, it being what (since some former mismanagement* wherein I ~~was~~ deeply concerned) I have constantly declined, hoping that I might not be altogether unuseful to the service, if I went on to promote it in my own, that is, in another way. I still hope so, and that a little time (which must be employed in doing nothing but soliciting supplies) will give me room for entering into measures that may be somewhat more significant than those formerly taken; this *I shall endeavour*, being at present per-

“ At the Cabinet Council, May 23, 1722.

Present,

The Archbishop of Canterbury,

Lord Chancellor,

Lord President,

Lord Privy Seal,

Lord Chamberlain,

Duke of Grafton,

Duke of Devonshire,

Earl of Berkeley,

Lord Viscount Townshend,

Lord Carteret,

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mrs. Barnes, being interrogated whether she knew of a little dog that was brought from France, answered, that a little dog, whose leg was broken, was left with her to be cured by Mr. Kelly; and that the said little dog was not designed for her, but for the Bishop of Rochester: That the dog was called *Harlequin*, a very fine spotted dog: That Kelly promised her, the said Barnes, to get the dog for her from the Bishop of Rochester, in case it did not recover its lameness,

Taken and signed
in the Cabinet Council.”

JANE BARNES.

* Supposed to refer to Gillenborg's negotiation.

fectly

fectly tired by the distracting measures which have been taken from several quarters, by persons no ways equal to the work, and at the same time not agreeing among themselves. This is all I can say at present, but that I am, with the same entire respect and fidelity I ever was, Sir, your most, &c.

T. JONES.

I have communicated the copies of Mr. *Mansfield's* * and *Jacob's* letters, which besides the general declaration (whereof they had a copy) were the only ones of those transmitted, that I was directed, or indeed thought proper so to do. Though I have for some time thought that nothing of importance should be trusted to the post, and am resolved myself not to send that way; yet the death of Lord Sunderland † makes such a caution more indispensably necessary, for you may depend upon it that those in power here will now enter into measures of more severity and strictness, and employ all their diligence, as well as power, on such occasions ‡.

CCLXXXV.

* Ormond and the Pretender.

† He died April 19, 1722, the day preceding the date of this letter. See vol. I. p. 104.

‡ The Government suspecting the Bishop to be concerned in a plot in favour of the Pretender; he was apprehended Aug. 24, 1722, and committed to the Tower. Various methods, it has been said, were attempted, and various times fixed, for putting the plot in execution. The first intention was, to have procured a regular body of foreign forces to invade these kingdoms, at the time of the elections for members of parliament. But the conspirators, being disappointed in this expectation, resolved next to make an attempt at the time it was generally believed his Majesty intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved, from abroad, under the command of the late Duke of Ormond; who was to have landed in the

CCLXXXV.

To the Earl of MAR *, under the name of MUSGRAVE.

S I R,

April 20, 1722.

I RECEIVED from Mr. *Hatfield* † (after a long intermission of such favours) a letter which was very welcome to me. I have also considered carefully what he had to offer to me in particular, and entirely agree with what is proposed; but my present sad circumstances (of which he has already informed you) will not suffer me to be active soon, or even set forward the affairs entrusted with me in so speedy a manner as I could wish. The best is, that as I cannot act openly, so neither is there, I think, any immediate need of it, some time being requisite towards ripening matters, in order

river, with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpose. The Tower, at the same time, was to have been seized, and the city of London made a place of arms. But this design also being disappointed by many concurring events, the conspirators found themselves under a necessity of deferring their enterprize till the breaking-up of the camp: during which interval, they laboured, by their agents and emissaries, to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of the army; and depended so much on their defection, as to entertain hopes of placing the Pretender on the throne, though they should have no assistance from abroad. What share our Prelate was suspected to have had in this conspiracy, appears from the Report, which charges him with "carrying on a "traiterous correspondence, in order to raise an insurrection "in the kingdom, and to procure foreign forces to invade it." In support of which accusation the three letters here printed were produced. The Bishop's Speech in his own Defence is printed at large in the fourth volume of this collection.

* John Erskine, attainted in 1716. See an account of him in vol. III. in a Letter dated Nov. 28, 1727.

† Kelly.

to fix the concert proposed, which, if hastily begun, may be attended with suspicions and other inconveniences; but you may depend upon it that the declarations committed to my care shall be forwarded in due time to the persons concerned, as also all such other declarations as I judge (and at the time I judge) they will best promote the service. What is to be wished for, is, that the person * whom I am to act with would come to town, and his doing so may be facilitated better from your side, than by any thing that can be done here; by that time he comes, I hope, I shall be able to take my part with him. I add no more now (being very unfit to say even thus much), but that I am, with entire respect and confidence, Sir, &c. T. ILLINGTON.

CCLXXXVI. TO THE PRETENDER †, under the feigned name of Mr. JACKSON, under the cover of Mr. GORDON le fils, Banquier à Boulogne sur Mer.

S I R,

April 20, 1722.

I AM sorry to find by yours, which *Hatfield* brought, that you know our circumstances on this side so well, because that knowledge does not, I apprehend, give you

* This person, in other places called *Hacket*, was a man of consequence, much confided in by the Pretender.

† It appears, by the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, "That when the Bishop was taken into custody, vast numbers of letters and papers were found in his house, bearing date before the year 1712; but from that time downwards few of any consequence, except what are here printed. One was from the Dutchess of Ormond, dated Jan. 14, 1721, in which are these words: "I resolved to send

you any advantageous opinion of us; however, let that be as it will, it is not fit you should be deceived, and
 rely

“ what I received: for though it had not happened to belong
 “ to the person I addressed it to, I was sure it could not be
 “ put into better hands.” This passage makes it highly probable that the Bishop used to receive letters from abroad directed by fictitious names; which is still further confirmed by the following circumstances: In the cypher which Laver owned to be received from Sir William Ellis, the Bishop of Rochester is designed by the name of *Justin*. Neynoe declared, that in the letter which Kelly shewed him from Dillon's Secretary, there were compliments to the Bishop of Rochester by the name of *Nauntou*. Among the Bishop's letters was found one directed to Mr. *Dubois*, not signed with any name, nor dated from any place. It was in the following words: “ Sir, Forgive my silence. You easily conceive the
 “ difficulties I am under in that regard. I write this only to
 “ assure you of my sincerest and unalterable respect; and refer you to the worthy bearer for news, and for every thing
 “ which otherwise I should have found some way or other of
 “ writing to you myself. I have heard nothing from you
 “ since the letter I had about two months ago by Mr. *Johnson*,
 “ to which I immediately in his hand returned my answer,
 “ A rumour has reached me of your having written hither
 “ since; but I can find nobody that owns he has seen your
 “ letters. I am always, Sir, your truly obedient, and most
 “ humble servant.” The Committee observed, That *Johnson* was the name by which Kelly constantly went, as appeared to them from several affidavits: and that he was at Paris Dec. 16, 1721, N. S. and set out in two or three days after for England, as appeared from the pocket-book taken upon him: and the letter to *Dubois* seemed to intimate such a correspondence as made it unsafe to write openly, and without disguise. Among the Bishop's papers was found another letter, dated Rouen, Jan. 15, 1722, without any name; and the superscription torn off: which letter is mentioned to be sent by an honest gentleman; and the writer of it desires to be directed to by the name of *Wilkart*, at Mr. Arbuthnot's at Rouen, which is probably a fictitious direction, no name being subscribed to the letter. He likewise mentions a former letter, sent under cover to their common friend *Sir Red*. Who
 Sir

rely on more than will be made good to you. If you guessed at my right mind, I dare say it was agreeable to

Sir Red. is, did not appear to the Committee; but they found one *Sir Red.* Everard inserted in Plunket's cypher, and designed by the fictitious name of *Fly*. Among the Bishop's papers were likewise found two letters from Captain *Charles Halstead* of Greenwich; the person who was sent to Bilboa, to transport the late Duke of Ormond to England. Some letters were intercepted, which there was good reason to believe were from the Bishop of Rochester; and one of these letters being signed *T. Jones*, and another *T. Illington*, the Committee laid before the House the evidence they found of the Bishop's being designed by those two names, collected from circumstances, which, being in themselves seemingly minute and of little consequence, were for that reason more frankly confessed by those who were obstinate in concealing stronger proofs; and yet at the same time led directly to the discovery of the person meant by those names. On the 11th of May, *Motfield* (who is the same with *Musgrave*, that is, the Lord *Marr*) sent a letter to Mr. *Illington*, inclosed under cover to Kelly; in which, after acknowledging the receipt of *Illington's* letter of the 20th of April, he adds, "I did not expect so soon after to have heard of a loss you have had since, for which I condole with you; and nothing which concerns you so near can fail touching me, as in friendship it ought. It is, though, becoming us, as it is our duty, to submit with resignation to what the just and great God thinks fit to order for us in this vain and transitory world; but you know such things so much better than I, that I will not trouble you with saying any more upon it." This last paragraph seems to point out the character and function of the person to whom the letter was written. *Motfield* adds, "I would fain hope that your own distemper will soon give you ease," which agrees with the circumstance of the Bishop's being ill of the gout at the time of his wife's death. The packet was directed to Mr. *Chivers*, and consisted of three letters, one to *Chivers* himself, signed *J. Jones*; another to *Musgrave*, signed *T. Illington*; a third to Mr. *Jackson*, signed 1378; which number was found by the decyphers to denote the proper name of a person beginning with the letter R. in the cypher made use of in these three letters, the order of which was

to your own; and that you could not but see through the forwardness of all those unsupported, pretending people. Notwithstanding this opportunity * is elapsed, I agree with you, another may offer before the end of the year †, though not perhaps every way so favourable. However, it became me to speak strongly on that head, especially at the time when the declaration was drawn, which was long before it was transmitted, for it was kept back a great while, in hopes that deeds might have accompanied words, and sent at last rather to justify the writer in respect to that part he had undertaken, than to push on any design in so unprovided a condition. I find I

was alphabetical. All the three letters were dated the 20th of April, and appear by the matter to be from the same person, which prove 1378 to be the same with *Jones* and *Illington*. The letters to *Musgrave* and *Jackson* were inclosed in that to *Chivers*. The person who dictated these letters speaks of himself as being in ill health, in great pain, under some sad and melancholy circumstances, which made him incapable of doing any thing regularly at that time, but which he expected would soon blow over; which agrees with the Bishop's circumstances at that time, whose wife was extremely ill, and died six days after; and he himself, as has been observed before, was at that time afflicted with the gout. The Committee observed further, from this letter to *Dillon*, that the Bishop had contracted a great intimacy and familiarity with a professed Roman Catholic, who appeared openly in arms against King William in Ireland; and, being obliged to leave that country at the capitulation of Limerick, had ever since adhered to the same cause in foreign parts, and was then more active and industrious than any other of the Pretender's agents in these kingdoms. He was a lieutenant-general, and had a command of one of the Irish regiments in the French service. It appears also by the Report, that, after Kelly's being taken into custody, the management of the Bishop's correspondence was undertaken by Carte the Historian.

* Supposed to mean the time of the elections.

† The time of the King's going to Hanover.

was

was not mistaken, and am glad it was not so, though every word of those declarations passed the view and approbation of the persons concerned; but they were to be, and shall always be by me, treated tenderly; though nothing shall engage me to enter deep with them for the future. I had taken this resolution before Hatfield's return, and am pleased to find that you concur with me in opinion. As soon as God restores me to my health, and some other melancholy circumstances* are blown over, which will be as soon as there is any occasion for me, I will not be idle. In the mean time, give me leave to withdraw myself seemingly from any engagement of this kind; I shall return to it, I doubt not, with more ability to promote the work: not that I will decline any proper occasions that may offer themselves to converse freely with the men, and in the manner, I have been used to do, for it is fit upon all accounts I should do so; but by little and little that confidence will cool, and make room, I hope, for something of a more solid and important nature.

I dictate this in great pain; and for that reason, and because I am not at present in any readiness to go further, shall add only my faithful assurances of an entire and unalterable respect for you.

R. 1378.

* Supposed to allude to his own gout, and his wife's illness.

CCLXXXVII. To Dean Moss.

GOOD MR. DEAN,

Bromley, May 4, 1722.

YOU have heard in how melancholy a way my time has been taken up *, and do not wonder at my not answering yours. I am not yet recovered from my double indisposition of body and mind. However, I intend to be at the Deanry some part of the approaching week, and should be glad to see you there at any time after four o'clock on Monday next, or before ten on Wednesday. I do not judge as you do as to the time's being past for answering that piece. I should think it were better to defer it still longer; and not (as I before said) to trace him κατὰ πόδα: for he does not deserve it; but to single out the places most exceptionable, and, after exposing them, take an occasion from the whole to advance somewhat that is new and affecting on the subject; and carry on the charge still farther against that pernicious, however countenanced, Sect. But of this you are the best judge. I am, Sir, your affectionate brother and humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

* By Mrs. Atterbury's illness, which had terminated in her death but a few days before. See her epitaph, p. 160.

CCLXXXVIII. From Dr. WALL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP, Shorham, May 7, 1722.

I HAVE employed much of my thoughts upon the subject of that Letter with which your Lordship was pleased to honour me in February last *: but am ashamed to confess my inability to discover any internal evidence of the date of publishing the Gospels; though I have read them over with that view.

Your Lordship's argument from St. Luke's supplying in the Acts the relations concerning some passages of the life, speeches, and ascension of our Saviour, which had been omitted in his Gospel, does, I think, plainly confute Mr. Dodwell's notion of their being written both together; which never seemed to me probable. And, to speak in general, your Lordship's observation, that the sooner the Gospels can be proved to be written, the less room is left for any doubt concerning the truth of the facts related, would make one wish that their opinion, who place the publication of them so very late, may be proved a mistake: for the proof whereof I am glad to hear that we have hope, from your Lordship's great sagacity, of some internal arguments. That a moderate distance of time (such as the Ancients assign, of eight, ten, or twelve years) should have intervened between the facts and the written history of them, is, I think, no abatement to the credit of them; so long as it is notorious that they were published, if not by writing, yet by oral testimony,

* See p. 129.

immediately after the performing of them; and that testimony given in the most public manner, in courts of judicature, the temple, &c. I do not see any inconvenience in granting that such proofs and testimonies publicly given should for some moderate time precede the writings.

What your Lordship brings as an objection against yourself, from Mark xvi. 20. mentioning the Apostles having then preached Christ's resurrection *πανταρχς*, may, I think, be naturally understood of their declaring and testifying it, both in the courts and in the temple, and (as it is said Acts v. ult.) *κατ'οικον*, which we translate *in every house*; and not only all over Jerusalem, but in the country places of Judaea and Samaria, Acts viii. 1. All which was within a year, or thereabouts. And the other answer to that objection (which your Lordship does not think fit to make use of, and indeed has no need of) is yet, I doubt, true; that there is great reason to think the latter part of the chapter interpolated; both because many ancient books were without it, and St. Hierom says, "few in his time had it:" and the reason that he mentions against it (its contradicting the other Gospels) is considerable: witness the difficulty of reconciling ver. 13. with Luke xxiv. 33, 34.

I think it probable, and almost certain, that St. Matthew wrote the first of those we have; both because the Ancients do all say so, and some of the most ancient seem to have seen his only; and the other two do manifestly follow the phraseologies of the interpreter. It is a
proof

proof in what a disturbed and persecuted state the Christians then were, that the original was not preserved; much less the date of its writing. If the copy of the Nazarenes, who pretended to it, which had some passages which ours has not, and wanted some that ours has, particularly the genealogy, were only deficient in this last, I should think it more likely to be true, that his writing was at the time, and for the reason, that he was going to leave the Christians at Jerusalem, and go abroad in the world; and that the year when he and most of the other Apostles did this was about twelve years after the Ascension, A. D. 45, is the most current tradition; and is something confirmed by the concurrence in time of that command of God to the Church of Antioch, to send out Paul and Barnabas on the same errand.

That there was some considerable interval of years between Christ's passion and St. Matthew's written account of it appears, I think, from two observations that he makes at the time of his writing: that the lying report of Christ's body being stolen by his disciples, raised at the time of his resurrection, and the name *Aceldama* of Judas's field, did both of them continue at that time when he wrote. "They do continue," says he, "*μέχρι τῆς σήμερον.*" Which is a phrase not used but in the case of a considerable space of time.

I am, my Lord, ashamed, as I said, that nothing of more moment has occurred to me on a subject which, by your Lordship's command, I was very desirous, and should have been proud, to improve; but could not find where to set my foot. What my dull eye could
not,

not, your Lordship's eye will discover. Yet as he that is sent on a commission of enquiry must return an account of his failures, as well as he must have done of his success, I have had for some time a purpose of coming, though empty, and waiting on your Lordship: but have from time to time apprehended, by my son's account of things, that it must be unseasonable, during the great grief under which your Lordship laboured for a loss which you then continually feared, and have since suffered*: for which I humbly beseech Almighty God to grant your Lordship his comfort; being, my Lord, your Lordship's dutiful son and servant,

WILLIAM WALL.

* The death of his lady. The following sepulchral inscription is transcribed from Seymour's "Survey of London," vol. II. p. 566.

"CATHARINE † ATTERBURY, wife to FRANCIS Lord Bishop of ROCHESTER: She died the 26th day of April, 1722, aged 56 years. And ELIZABETH ATTERBURY, daughter to the Bishop and his Lady; who dying the 29th day of September, 1716, aged 17, was buried the 4th of October following, in the area, two feet from the door of St. Edward's Chapel; and being removed the 2d of May, 1722, was deposited here."

This inscription is not now to be found in the order described by Seymour, which was between the monument of Sir Lumley Robinson and that of Dr. Freind. Why it has been removed, is not easy to be discovered; though I would charitably hope that so harmless an inscription was not taken away through any malice to the memory of the Bishop. As this is a matter of curiosity, I have taken some ineffectual pains to ascertain the fact. The inscription must either have been on the spot now filled with the monument of bp. Wilcocks, or that where a ponderous pile is placed for Rear Admiral Tyrrell; unless (which I am rather inclined to think) it was in the Consistory-court. See above, p. 143.

* In Seymour misprinted *Elizabeth*.

CCLXXXIX. To Mr. POPE.

Bromley, May 25, 1722.

I HAD much ado to get hither last night, the water being so rough that the ferrymen were unwilling to venture. The first thing I saw this morning, after my eyes were open, was your letter, for the freedom and kindness of which I thank you. Let all compliments be laid aside between us for the future; and depend upon me as your faithful friend in all things within my power, as one that truly values you, and wishes you all manner of happiness. I thank you and Mrs. Pope for my kind reception, which has left a pleasing impression upon me that will not soon be effaced.

Lord Bolingbroke has pressed me terribly to see him at Dawley, and told me, in a manner betwixt kindness and resentment, that it is but a few miles beyond Twickenham.

I have but a little time left, and a great deal to do in it; and must expect that ill health will render a good share of it useless; and therefore what is likely to be left at the foot of the account ought by me to be cherished, and not thrown away in compliments. You know the motto of my sun-dial, "Vivite, ait, fugio." I will, as far as I am able, follow its advice, and cut off all unnecessary avocations and amusements. There are those that intend to employ me this winter in a way I do not like: if they persist in their intentions, I must apply myself to the work they cut out for me, as well as I can. But withal, that shall not hinder me from

employing myself also in a way which they do not like. The givers of trouble one way shall have their share of it another; that at last they may be induced to let me be quiet, and live to myself, with the few (the very few) friends I like, for that is the point, the single point, I now aim at; though I know the generality of the world, who are unacquainted with my intentions and views, think the very reverse of this character belongs to me. I do not know how I have rambled into this account of myself; when I sat down to write, I had no thought of making that any part of my letter.

You might have been sure, without my telling you, that my right hand is at ease; else I should not have overflowed at this rate. And yet I have not done, for there is a kind intimation in the end of yours, which I understood, because it seems to tend towards employing me in something that is agreeable to you. Pray explain yourself, and believe that you have not an acquaintance in the world that would be more in earnest on such an occasion than I; for I love you, as well as esteem you.

All the while I have been writing, Pain, and a fine Thrush, have been severally endeavouring to call off my attention, but both in vain; nor should I yet part with you, but that the turning over a new leaf frights me a little, and makes me resolve to break through a new temptation, before it has taken too fast hold on me. I am, &c.

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXC. To Dean Moss.

GOOD MR. DEAN, Bromley, Wednesday afternoon, June 6, 1722.

I HAVE been out of order ever since I saw you ; a great cold I caught, by exposing myself too much to the blast of an East wind, gave me a new fit of the gout, which is not yet entirely gone off. However, I have perused your papers * as attentively, and to as much purpose, as my want of health and books (in this place) would permit. And you shall certainly have them returned to you, by a sure hand, before you set out for Ely on Monday next. In the mean time, I beg you to recollect who it was you saw at the Deanry, or coming out of the Deanry, at or about the time that Mr. Walpole was there †, or when he parted from me, about three weeks ago. I have a reason for this enquiry, which you shall know if I live to see you again. In the mean time be as particular in this matter as your memory will give you leave ; and let me have a few lines from you about it as soon as you can conveniently. If you put your Letter into the hands of Frank Winkles, Clerk of the Works at Westminster-Abbey, he will take care of conveying it to your affectionate brother and faithful servant,

FR. ROSEN.

* Dr. Moss's answer to the pamphlet mentioned in p. 144. It does not appear to have been ever published. By a MS. letter from Dr. Webster to Dr. Z. Grey, I find that it was offered to a bookseller in 1732 for ten pounds.

† This was probably the precise time when the offer was made to him, which has been alluded to in a note on p. 4. of this volume.

CCXCI. To Dean Moss.

GOOD MR. DEAN,

Bromley, June 9, 1722.

I THANK you for your letter, and will trouble you no farther on that head. You shall know my meaning in that enquiry * if I live to meet you upon your return from Ely.

As to your papers, I have read them thrice, and with some attention; such as my present indisposition and want of books at this place would permit me to use. And I began to set down in writing some small remarks on particular places: but I found them to be of so little moment in themselves, and yet likely to be so numerous, that as I could not well go through with the trouble of putting them down in paper, so I was glad, upon a review of them, to find that that labour seemed needless: for they related chiefly to the manner of expression, which, though it be not such here as perhaps I should have pitched upon (for every man has his particular cast of words and turn of style) may for all that be better than what I should have substituted, as being more suitable to the way of writing you have proposed to yourself, and which you have along uniformly pursued, and, in my judgement, very good purpose. However, as the gravity and weight of your expression is the distinguishing character of it, I could wish that some passages (they are very few), which seem to carry the least air of levity in them, might be altered or omitted, such as that of *paying compliments to a mask*—that of *spinning glass*; and

* See p. 163.

one or two more, I think, of the like kind; which, when you read them over again for the press, you cannot miss. In other respects, I almost every where perfectly approve your manner of writing, as well as reasoning. Only I cannot but wish (as I said to you at first) that you had paid less respect to the performance, and considered it in a much slighter and more contemptuous manner; and only taken occasion from thence to say what you thought proper to be offered to the publick; without pursuing him *pedetentim* through all his cavils and evasions. But since you have thought fit to take that way (which will also have its use), I see not how what you have written in the whole can be shortened in the parts, so as to answer your professed design in writing. And this I say after endeavouring, here and there, to contract what you had said, and finding that it would not be of a piece with the rest, nor answer your purposes, if I did so.

Therefore, though I am sorry the piece is so large, yet I see not how it can be conveniently abridged; and am sure that, long as it may be, whoever reads it attentively will find in every part of it what will make him good amends for his trouble.

The matter of fact about the Petition* itself is of importance, and absolutely necessary to be told; and I doubt not but the Bishops concerned will be easy on that head; I am sure they ought to be: and, if they are not, that itself is a new reason why they should be

* That of the London Clergy against the Quakers Bill. It is printed in the Political State, vol. XXIII. p. 112. Dean Mofs was the first who signed it.

put upon publicly owning what was transacted in secret; if that point can be gained, and made consistent with the decency and duty that is to be paid them.

Your defending a rejected Petition and an expunged Protest * can surely be attended with no just objection, since you pretend to know nothing of the debates and proceedings within-doors, beyond what *Joshua* † himself has printed; nor to consider any arguments but his against that Petition and those Reasons. The Lords might have such as induced them to reject and expunge; and yet this pretended Quaker may not have hit upon them.

As to the Statutes supposed to give the Quakers the name of Christians, you allow too much in what you say on that head: for there is not a single passage in any Act of Parliament, but that you have cited, where the word *Christian* is used concerning them; and that only says, they shall subscribe a profession of *their Christian belief*, which they may do, nay and even be orthodox in that belief; and yet, if they either hold opinions directly destructive of those articles of faith they profess, or renounce the known institutions of Christ, be for all that no Christians; nor does any Act of Parliament ever style them so.

I shall say nothing to you about the instances of the Lord Advocate's petitioning in 1588, but this; that

* This Protest, in which Atterbury was supported by his quondam adversary Abp. Wake, is also printed in the *Political State*, vol. XXIII. p. 185.

† Joshua Freeman, the name assumed by Dr. Sykes. See p. 145.

Gibson observed, there was no mention of its being presented even in the larger entries of Sir Symonds D'Ewes's printed account of that session; which assertion whether it be true or no I have not enquired, as not thinking it very material.

That part of your Book which relates to the divine institution of an oath, and that other which concerns the duty of the magistrate with respect to Religion, are what need not have been offered in answer to that shuffling Writer; but, since you have been at the pains of drawing them up, they ought not, I am sure, to be lost: for those points are treated by you with great solidity and prudence; and your way of stating them will be of good use.

I had some trouble in marshaling your separate papers, which, either by me or you, or both of us, were put much out of order. I suppose I have, as I now send them back, restored them to the order in which you designed them. If, after all, you accuse me for not having done what you had hopes I would have done in relation to your MS. I have two things to say for myself, and can say both of them very sincerely. The first is, that ill health has been for these two months past my perpetual portion; and that, mixed with some melancholy and shocking accidents of life, has hindered me from employing my mind in earnest on any subject of consequence; though, I thank God, I am now going to be more at ease than I was in those particulars.

Another thing that hindered me putting down my thoughts at large, was a resolution to see you again, and discourse over all matters verbally; and I had ap-
M 4 pointed,

pointed, in my mind, yesterday for that purpose ; and had disposed all my matters, and ordered my coach, for that little journey. But I was prevented by incidents that it is not now worth while to trouble you with ; and must now be necessarily confined here for a few days longer.

I wish you a good journey to Ely ; and hope for your return about the beginning or middle of August. Whenever it is, you will let me know of it ; and then, if I am in a condition of doing farther service (farther do I say ? I have done none hitherto), I will not decline it. In the mean time, and always, look upon me as your very affectionate brother and faithful servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXCII. To Mr. POPE.

June 15, 1722.

YOU have generally written first, after our parting ; I will now be before-hand with you in my enquiries, how you got home, and how you do, and whether you met with Lord —, and delivered my civil reproach to him in the manner I desired ? I suppose you did not, because I have heard nothing either from you or from him on that head ; as I suppose I might have done if you had found him.

I am sick of these men of quality ; and the more so, the oftener I have any business to transact with them. They look upon it as one of their distinguishing privileges, not to be punctual in any business, of how great importance soever ; nor to set other people at ease, with the loss of the least part of their own. This conduct
of

of his vexes me; but to what purpose? or how can I alter it?

I long to see the original MS. of Milton*: but do not know how to come at it, without your repeated assistance.

I hope you won't utterly forget what passed in the coach about Sampson Agonistes. I shall not press you as to time; but some time or other I wish you would review and polish that piece. If, upon a new perusal of it (which I desire you to make), you think as I do, that it is written in the very spirit of the Ancients; it deserves your care, and is capable of being improved, with little trouble, into a perfect model and standard of Tragic Poetry—always allowing for its being a story taken out of the Bible; which is an objection that, at this time of day, I know is not to be got over. I am, &c.

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXCIII. To Dr. WALL †.

REVEREND SIR,

Bromley, June 15, 1722.

THE letter you sent me about a month ago ‡ should have been answered ere this, if intervening accidents had not prevented. I now thank you for it; and will, when we meet (which I hope may be as soon as your leisure and convenience will permit), say somewhat farther to you on the subject you have been so kind to consider at my instance. At present I shall observe to

* See above p. 49.

† Indorsed by Bp. Atterbury, "My letter to Dr. Wall, June 15, 1722."

‡ See p. 157.

you,

you, that it would have been natural to have interpreted that passage of St. Mark (xvi. 20.) in that restrained sense you mention, if it had not tallied so exactly with another in the same chapter, which hath certainly a more extended meaning : Πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα, κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει, says the 15th verse, and Σημεῖα δὲ παρακολουθήσει, &c. ver. 17. Then comes the execution of this commission, and completion of this promise, ver. 20, in words that seem expressly to refer to those in which they were given : Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐξελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν πανταχῶς, τῷ Κυρίῳ συνεργῶντες—διὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθήσων σημείων *. You see how they agree.

Πορευθέντες κηρύξατε	Σημεῖα παρακολουθήσει
Ἐξελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν.	Διὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθήσων σημείων.

And therefore πανταχῶς in the latter verse may seem also naturally to refer to κόσμον ἅπαντα and πάσῃ κτίσει, in the former ; and if it does so, must signify more than barely their preaching in Judæa and Samaria. Here lies the difficulty, which I am not willing to get rid of at the expence of allowing part of the last chapter to have been added to St. Mark after the first edition of it ; because this, I think, would furnish Unbelievers with more doubts and objections than the supposed late date of the Gospels. Nor indeed can I persuade myself that the Gospel of St. Mark, as it came out of his hands, ever ended with the words ἐπεὶ οὖν γὰρ, as is supposed by all those who allow an addition to have been made to it. They are too abrupt to close a regular, though brief

* The Bishop has a Sermon on this text in his third volume.

narration, which opens in so solemn a manner as this of St. Mark does: Ἀρχὴ τῆς εὐαγγελίας, &c. and must therefore have been shut up in a way suitable to his style in all other parts of his story, however those MSS. which St. Hierom, Gregory Nyssen, &c. refer to, came to end the Gospel there. I am therefore, I own to you, at a loss in this matter, and cannot as yet tell how to extricate myself perfectly to my own satisfaction. And yet I am very clear on these heads, and think I can prove them to the satisfaction of every indifferent mind; viz.

That the Gospels were all written in the same order in which they are now placed; and indeed no reasonable account can be given of their being placed in this order but because they were written in it:

That St. Mark's Gospel was written, partly as an epitome, and partly and chiefly as a supplement to St. Matthew's, whereby several circumstances are added (which, I doubt not, he had learned from St. Peter and others), that diversify, enlarge, and explain, but no where contradict, St. Matthew's relations, and put the whole series of the story into a more natural order than St. Matthew had observed:

That St. Luke had seen both those Gospels when he wrote his own, though perhaps not the Greek translation of St. Matthew's Hebrew. Nor does his preface in the least interfere with this opinion:

That St. John had seen the three preceding Gospels, and intended to supply what was still wanting in all of them; which he could not do, oftentimes, without relating the same facts, and partly in the same manner
they

they had done : [This, I say, may be made out by a comparison of the Gospels themselves, and would have appeared to a sagacious reader, though Eusebius had said nothing to lead him into such an opinion :]

That the Gospel of St. Luke was written many years before the Acts, and (as I think I can make out) between the 46th and 57th year of our Lord, and nearer to the first than the last of these periods.

The consequence from whence is, that St. Mark's Gospel must have been written yet nearer to our Saviour's ascent, and very probably near the time which the *ὑπογραφαὶ* generally mention, which was before the Gospel could be said to have been preached *παῖαχῶς*, in the intended sense of that word. Which premises would naturally lead one to this conclusion; that therefore it must be interpreted in a narrower meaning: nor have I any thing to object to that inference, but what I have already urged in this letter; which, I am sensible, is growing to a length that I never, when I first set myself down to write, intended.

I will therefore break off here what I could further add on this head, and refer myself to our meeting at your leisure; which I suppose may conveniently be between the two harvests.

It has pleased God, since I entered into these disquisitions, to divert me from them often, and by avocations of various kinds; which have made me sometimes, when I returned to such thoughts, as a loss to recover even the thread of my own reasonings, and often even the observations on which I had grounded them, and so clearly understood at the time, as to think there was

no necessity of reducing them into writing. These allocations still in some measure continue, and prevent my pursuing this great point as effectually as I wish. However, it is what I still intend to go to the bottom of, if God grants me life and leisure; and shall be beholden to any one that will afford me any light in it—to you in particular, who, I doubt not, have considered the Gospels under this view, and with a particular attention.

I thank you for your observation on the phrases *ἕως* * and *μέχρι τῆς σήμερον* †, which it is pretty strange should be used only in the Gospel that was written earliest; whereas in any of the subsequent Evangelists, and particularly in St. John, it would have had a more natural and allowable meaning. I am almost tempted to think that it was added by the Greek translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew, several years after the Hebrew original was written; in like manner as the same phrase was added in passages inserted into Moses's writings, and perhaps in imitation of those insertions. But I will enter no further into these matters; and shall conclude with desiring your thoughts on these words of St. Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 18. Οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διὰ πάντων [τῶν] ἐκκλησιῶν ‡. I recite the words by memory, and therefore perhaps not exactly.

This Epistle was written about the 57th year of Christ; and, as I have said already in this letter, I think, I can prove that St. Luke's Gospel was published before that year. Why therefore should not this phrase

* Matt. xxvii. 8.

† Ibid. xxviii. 15.

‡ "Whose praise is in the Gospel, throughout all the Churches, &c."

be understood of his Gospel, properly so called? Indeed, had we no proof of the writing and publishing his Gospel antecedently to this Epistle, yet methinks this very passage in the Epistle would furnish us with a tolerable proof of it, if once it can be proved (as I think it may be) that St. Luke must here be meant; for, allowing that, the natural force of the words will lead us to this sense of them; nor can we imagine that this peculiar character should be given of St. Luke preferable to all others, on any other account but that of his having then written and published his Gospel; and even so long before this time that it might then be in the hands of Christians in all the churches where St. Paul had preached.

In the other sense of an *Evangelist*, there were others that had equal right to this character with St. Luke, if not a better; on whom however it was never bestowed: but to him, and to him only, it in an emphatical manner belonged. What I request of you therefore is, that if you can strengthen or weaken this opinion by any considerations of moment, you would do it at your leisure. Two points there are to be cleared, that St. Luke is here meant, and that by *Εὐαγγελιστὴς* is to be understood his *written Gospel*. Origen, Eusebius, St. Hierom, the interpolated Ignatius, Titus Bostrensis, and Sophronius, are express in both these respects; and the eldest of these authorities are very material. If there be any others on the same side, I should be glad to know them; or any ancient authorities to the contrary, I should be glad to weigh them. Theodoret's opinion I know, and am not very solicitous concerning it.

You

You see, Sir, how freely I ask your assistance; which I would not do, if I did not think you very capable of giving it. I will add no farther to your trouble at present; but end with assurances that I am, Reverend Sir, your most affectionate brother,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXCIV. From Bp. POTTER*.

MY LORD,

Cuddeston, June † 25, 1722.

I HAVE received the favour of your letter left for me with Dr. Clavering§; and when Mr. Atterbury|| returns to the College, it will be a particular satisfaction to me to have it in my power to be any way serviceable to him.

As to the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel, your Lordship gives very good reasons why we ought not to have a thought of laying it aside: and I readily agree with your Lordship, that *πάντα*, in the last verse, hath a relation to *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* and *πάντη τῇ κτίσει*, in our Lord's commission to the Apostles; and farther, that it implies the execution of that commission, at least in part; but I submit it nevertheless to your better judgement, whether any thing more be implied in the last words of St. Mark, than that, soon after our Lord's Ascension, the

* Then Bp. of Oxford, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

† Indorsed by Bp. Atterbury, "Bp. of Oxford's letter, June 25, 1722."

§ Afterwards Bp. of Peterborough.

|| The Bishop's son, who had been not long before elected from Westminster to Christ Church. Bp. Potter was then Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church.

Apostles

Apostles *went forth and preached*, not as formerly to the Jewish towns only (see Matthew x. 5.) but *every where*, *πανταχῆ*, that is, in the towns of Jews and Gentiles indiscriminately. There seems to me to be very good ground for this interpretation; but, since I find Maldonat * is of the same opinion, I shall rather refer your Lordship to his comment on this passage, than trouble you with my own reasons. And, lest your Lordship should not have this book at Bromley, where I perceive you now are, I have here inclosed a transcript of his words so far as they relate to this matter †. If this be

* A celebrated Spanish Divine, who wrote a Commentary on the Gospels, &c. and died at Rome in 1583.

† “ Marc. xiv. 20. *Prædicaverunt ubique.*] Id est, non solum inter Judæos, sed etiam inter Gentiles, ubicumque potuerunt, nullà jam ullius loci, ullius nationis, habitâ ratione; vide supra, versu 15.

“ Ver. 15. *Evangelizantes in mundum universum.*] Sunt qui existimant missos esse Apostolos à Christo universum terrarum orbem peragrarè; quod minimè mihi videtur esse probabile. Sciebat enim Christus id eos facere non posse, & non est credendum, quod facere non poterant, illis præcepisse; deinde quod hic præcipitur, non solum cunctis, sed singulis etiam Apostolis præceptum est; singulos autem totum terrarum orbem peragrarè non potuisse, opinor, nemo dubitabit. Docuit etiam eventus non ita fuisse hoc præceptum intelligendum, ut aut singuli, aut simul cuncti, universum terrarum orbem obirent, neque enim id re ipsâ præstiterunt, cum non solum Origenes tractatu in Matthæum 28, sed D. etiam Augustinus Epistolâ 82, ne ætate quidem suâ, id est quadringentis post Christum annis, non dico ab Apostolis, sed ne ab ullo quidem Christiano doctore ex tam multis Apostolorum successoribus, multis in locis Evangelium prædicatum fuisse doceant. Quod nostrâ memoriâ experientia compertum est, multis longâ & inusitatâ navigatione patefactis terris, in quibus nulla notitia, nulla memoria, erat Evangelii: itaque quod ad Romanos x. 18.

“ scribit

be the true sense of St. Mark's words, as I am in hopes

“ scribit D. Paulus, *sed dico nunquid non audierunt? Et quidem*
 “ *in omnem terram exiit sonus eorum, & in fines orbis terræ*
 “ *verba eorum*, per hyperbolen de his tantum gentibus de
 “ quibus Apostolus loquebatur, id est, de Asianis & Euro-
 “ pæis intelligendum est. Quod cum ita sit, dicendum non
 “ est id Christum Apostolis præcepisse, quod eos non fecisse
 “ constat. Tantum ergo voluit Christus terminos ad illud
 “ usque tempus legi, Evangelioque præfixos revellere, &
 “ non alios Evangelio, quam orbis terrarum fines ponere.
 “ Nam & lex intra Judæam terminabatur. *Notus in Judæa*
 “ *Deus, in Israel magnum nomen ejus*, Psalm lxxv. 2. & ante-
 “ quam ad prædicandum Evangelium Christus misisset Aposto-
 “ los, extra Judæam excedere vetuerat Matthæi x. 5. *In*
 “ *viam gentium ne abieritis, & in civitates Samaritanorum ne*
 “ *introieritis*. Hos nunc removet terminos, & exiguis regni
 “ Judæorum angustiis totius orbis amplitudinem apponit,
 “ quasi dicat; *euntes* non jam in Judæam solum, ut prius,
 “ *sed in mundum universum prædicate*. Rupta enim est jam per
 “ mortem & resurrectionem meam legis maceria, quæ intra
 “ Judææ fines continebatur, Ephes. ii. 14. Experti jam sumus,
 “ quantum apud Judæos proficiamus; auferatur igitur ab
 “ illis regnum Dei, & detur gentibus facientibus fructum
 “ ejus. Matthæi xxi. 43. Ergo hæc verba etsi affirmatione
 “ consent, non tam per affirmationem, quam per nega-
 “ tionem intelligenda sunt; quasi dicat Christus, *Ite quocun-*
 “ *que volueritis quocunque potueritis, ut Evangelium longè*
 “ *latèque diffundatis; nullos jam vobis locorum fines præscribo.*

“ *Prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ*]. Κτίσις, creatura,
 “ pro generatione, aut gente, posita videtur. Nam quod
 “ Marcus dicit, *Prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ*, Mat-
 “ thæus xxviii. 19. dicit, *Docete omnes gentes*. Opponit ergo
 “ omnem creaturam, id est, omnes gentes, uni Judæorum
 “ genti, alludens ad id, quod dixerat Matthæi x. 5. *In viam*
 “ *gentium ne abieritis*, quasi edictum illud rescindat.”

To the above transcript Ep. Atterbury has added: “ It is
 “ observable, that even when the first commission was given
 “ to the Disciples (Matth. x. 5,) with the limitation there
 “ expressed, to which Maldonat here refers; yet St. Luke,
 “ in his account of their execution of it, says, Ἐξελθόντες
 “ διήρχεσθε κατὰ τὰς πόλεις, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες
 “ πανταχῶς,” Luke ix. 6.

your Lordship will think it to be, then nothing farther can be inferred from them, in relation to your present subject, than that this Gospel was not finished till after Cornelius was converted, and a good part of the Apostles had for some time left Jerusalem; which probably will not interfere with any hypothesis your Lordship hath formed concerning this matter.

I must confess that I could never come to any resolution with myself concerning the person meant by St. Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 18. There seem to be very probable reasons to understand it either of St. Luke or Silas: but which of these two ought to have the preference, I dare not determine. Estius, who comments very well on this passage, inclines to Silas, and his arguments are not contemptible; but those against Luke seem not to be demonstrative. Such of the Ancients as are for St. Luke, of whom perhaps Origen may be the first now extant, seem to build their opinion rather on the sense of St. Paul's words compared with the known history of St. Luke, than on any certain tradition of the Church, which in such a case as this can hardly be expected; and therefore their arguments ought to weigh more with us than their authority. Could it be shewn that St. Luke's Gospel was published before the writing of this Epistle, I am apt to think there are very few who, notwithstanding any argument on the other side, would not readily apply this passage to St. Luke: but there seems to me so much uncertainty in the words taken by themselves, that, without your Lordship's farther assistance, I must still remain in suspense.

I have now given your Lordship my thoughts concerning both the subjects proposed in your letter, in compliance with your own desire, rather than with any expectation that my poor mite can be of the least service to your design; which I heartily wish you leisure and opportunity to prosecute, for the benefit of the Church: who am, with true respect, my Lord, your affectionate brother and humble servant,

Jo. OXFORD.

CCXCV. To Bp. POTTER.

MY LORD,

Bromley, June 29, 1722.

IT is very kind in you to give yourself so much trouble on my account, and to answer the letter I sent you so soon. I thank your Lordship for it, and am glad to find you judge that passage of St. Mark (though referring to the commission just before given in very extensive words) easily and naturally capable of that sense in which I wish to understand it, and which answers entirely my design. It may be some confirmation of your Lordship's judgement to observe, that even when the first commission was given to the Apostles, with the limitation expressed Matth. x. 5. on which Maldonat grounds his distinction; yet St. Luke, relating the manner of their executing that commission, says, Ἐξέρχόμενοι διήρχοντο κατὰ τὰς πόλεις εὐαγγελίζοντες καὶ θεραπεύοντες πανταχῶς, ix. 6. i. e. every where in the towns of Judæa and Galilee; for they were not allowed to enter even into those of the Samaritans; so that the force of the word πανταχῶς is to be determined by the circumstances of the History to which it relates.

And I the rather take notice of this passage of St. Luke, because I am apt to believe he had his eye to that in St. Mark when he wrote it, and did in some measure copy the phrase of it. It was not his intention to say any thing in his Gospel of the success of the Apostles' preaching after our Saviour's ascent; that being the intended subject of a second work, and without the compass of his present design. And he chose therefore to speak particularly of their manner of executing their first commission; and, having St. Mark's Gospel before him (as I have many reasons which will not suffer me to doubt but that he had), made use of some of his expressions to this purpose. But this, my Lord, is a nicety of no great weight. However, offering itself to me while I am writing to your Lordship, I take the liberty of imparting it.

As to 2 Cor. viii. 18. my humble request to your Lordship is, to let me know whether any ancient writer, Greek or Latin (except Theodoret, who is not very ancient), explains that passage in St. Paul of any other person beside St. Luke. The few books I have consulted on this occasion furnish me with no other authority of that kind. And if there be none, I shall look upon their silence in this case as favouring the most common and most natural interpretation of the words. But I mistrust myself in this case, both because of my distance from my books, and because of some words in your Lordship's letter, where you say, "such of the Ancients as are for St. Luke."—If indeed the Ancients are divided in their opinions on this head, no stress is to be laid upon them either way. But, if they
are

are not, it will be presumed that they had (though not any tradition properly so called, yet) elder authority from books now lost, to confirm them in this opinion.

I know not yet what Estius and Baronius say in behalf of Silas; and therefore it may be improper for me to add what I am going to say, that I think I can prove pretty clearly, from observations made on the Acts and St. Paul's Epistles, that Silas was not with St. Paul (and therefore could not be sent by him) at the time of his writing the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. And if there be good evidence against Silas, there is yet better against Barnabas; the only person beside, I think, that has been named in competition with St. Luke, on this occasion. But it becomes me to stop here, till I have considered what Baronius and Estius say; as I will do the first spare day I go to the Deanry. And then, perhaps, I may say something farther to your Lordship on the subject, unless restrained by the apprehensions of giving you too much trouble.

I think I can shew it to be in the highest degree probable that St. Luke had published his Gospel before either of the Epistles to the Corinthians were written; and, if I can, your Lordship thinks it will be easily yielded to me, that the words are meant of St. Luke. And on the other side, I believe, I can shew it also to be highly probable, that St. Luke, and no other person, is meant by those words; and then it will follow that his Gospel must before this time have been published. And, though this may seem to be a circle, yet in the event, I hope, these probabilities will be found mutually to give light and strength to each other,

though neither of them should of itself be sufficient to support the conclusion I aim at.

But, my Lord, that I may not fright you from my correspondence, I will promise you, for the future, not to burthen my letters with reflections of this kind, but barely to state to your Lordship any point where I stick, and desire your assistance in it, and particularly that you would put the objections that offer themselves to you on such heads in the strongest light possible.

And indeed, my Lord, though I have wandered into several reflections, yet my chief intention, when I sat down to write this letter, was to consult your Lordship on a particular head, the time of writing St. John's Gospel. After having maturely weighed every thing that lies within my reach, I cannot but conclude that what has been said about his writing it in his extreme old age must be a mistake, and that he certainly published it before the destruction of Jerusalem.

One of my reasons for being of this opinion is, that I observe little or nothing in this Gospel, relating to that destruction; which, I think, would not have been the case, if it had been written after it. It is particular to St. John, after he has recited the prophetic sayings of our Lord, to explain them by mentioning the event to which they refer. This he has done in various cases; ii. 21. vi. 70, 71. vii. 38, 39. xii. 32, 33. xxi. 18, 19. Nor do I remember that any of the Evangelists have done it beside him.

Is it credible, therefore, if he had written after that great event, that he would not have recollected some sayings of Christ relating to it, and omitted by the
other

other Evangelists; and have taken occasion from thence, after his usual manner, to apply them to the fact they were intended to fore signify, and which had then happened?

He seems to have added a chapter to his Gospel, for this reason, among others, that he might explain and apply what Christ had said relating to St. Peter's death (as well as his own), which, he tells us there, had happened accordingly. Would he not have told us the same also concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, if that remarkable event had happened before the publication of his Gospel? We see the other three Evangelists are full of our Lord's prophetic discourses on this head: and doubtless it was a subject he often discoursed of; and there was room for additions on this head, as well as on many others.

Nay, it is farther observable, that in some places of his Gospel, where he mentions words of our Saviour that carry hints of this kind, he never explains them by the event, as he does in other cases. For instance, iv. 21. *The hour cometh, &c.* And even in that last chapter, which he seems, I say, to have added to his Gospel after it was finished, and where he actually explained, by what had then happened to Peter, what our Saviour had said of him; yet what our Saviour at the same time said, and he there relates, concerning his coming to visit Jerusalem (for that doubtless is the sense of those words—"If I will that he *tarry till I come*"). he does not explain, but leaves the words of our Saviour in the same latitude he spoke them, without any application of them; which, I say, considering his

manner of writing, he would not have done, if the writing of his Gospel, or even of this part of it, had been subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem.

Pardon me, my Lord, for multiplying words. My meaning is only to shew you my thought in this case, to ask your judgement of it, and (if you think it has weight) your help towards improving it: for though the date of the other Gospels depends not on the time of writing St. John's, yet I am willing (for several reasons) to be able to prove, that even his Gospel was written before the destruction of Jerusalem.

It is time to end this long letter, with repeated thanks to your Lordship for what you sent me, and assurances that I am, with a very hearty respect, my Lord, your affectionate brother, and very humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXCVI. From Bp. POTTER.

MY LORD,

Cuddesden, July 6, 1722.

I AM highly obliged to your Lordship for favouring me with so many of your thoughts on the subjects now in debate between us. But, to omit farther ceremony, your Lordship takes occasion from these words of my last letter, "Such of the Ancients as are for St. Luke," to enquire whether any of the Ancients, beside Theodoret, apply St. Paul's words, 2 Cor. viii. 18. to any other person but St. Luke; to which I reply, in the words of St. Chrysostom, that "*some understand them of St. Luke, and some of Barnabas;*" and in those of Oecumenius, that "*many understand them*"
" of

“ of Luke, and many of Barnabas.” Both these Writers incline to Barnabas rather than Luke: and if your Lordship please to turn to their comments on St. Paul's Epistle, whence I have taken the above-written words, you will find, agreeably to what was said in my last letter, that they who are for St. Luke rather ground their opinion on St. Paul's words compared with the history of that Evangelist, than on any ancient tradition.

As to the time of writing St. John's Gospel, I need not say to your Lordship, that if this question be decided by the authority of the ancientest Fathers, we must be of opinion, that he wrote it in Ephesus, after his return from Patmos, which happened in the reign of Nerva, long after the destruction of Jerusalem. But it is true, and your Lordship better knows it than I do, that some of the later Fathers rather think it to have been wrote about thirty-two years after our Lord's Ascension, and consequently whilst Jerusalem was standing. I must confess, I do not think we ought to depend much on the authority of these men, especially in opposition to Writers of much greater authority, both because they lived too late to be good witnesses of ancient tradition, and because they are not consistent with themselves. For example: Theophylact tells us, that St. John wrote his Gospel ἐν Πατμῷ τῇ νήσῳ ἐξόριστος διατρίτων, μετὰ τριάκοντα δύο ἔτη τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως; whereas, if he wrote it in Patmos, many more years must have passed from our Lord's Ascension to the time of writing it than thirty-two, and Jerusalem must then have been destroyed several years; since it is agreed,
and

and Irenæus expressly affirms, that St. John was banished to Patmos by Domitian, who, as your Lordship very well knows, was the successor of Titus, who succeeded Vespasian, in the beginning of whose reign happened the destruction of Jerusalem. However, since there is a difference of opinion as to this point, I should be very glad to hear good arguments on either side; and, among others, the silence of this Evangelist, mentioned by your Lordship, may be of some weight: but I should be afraid to build any conclusion upon it, without other concurring evidence; since it is a mere negative argument; and since it will be said, on the other side, that nothing occurs in this Gospel which implies that Jerusalem was standing at the time of writing it; that many other things of great consequence, as the history of our Lord's nativity, that of his last supper, with others well known to your Lordship, are also passed over in silence; and that St. John might very probably think that our Lord's prophecies concerning the last destruction of Jerusalem were sufficiently related by the former Evangelists.

I am just now preparing to visit my diocese: but as that business will soon be over, so it will not hinder me from complying immediately with any command which your Lordship shall think fit to lay on me; who am, my Lord, your affectionate brother, and most humble servant,

Jo. OXFORD.

CCXCVII. To Bp. POTTER.

MY LORD,

Bromley, July 14, 1722.

I SUPPOSE, you will be come back from your visitation ere this reaches you. I am sensible I give you trouble; nor can I expect that your Lordship, who have other ways of employing your time and thoughts, should have so much of the one or the other to spare as I could wish for my advantage; and therefore I will not be so unreasonable as to break in often upon your retirement with long letters, which, at this distance, and written in my careless manner, may want longer to explain them; and not produce so much fruit, after all, as half an hour's conversation with your Lordship would do. However, my Lord, for once I will go on to trouble you in the same way.

I have considered what Estius says on 2 Cor. viii. 18. because your Lordship referred me to him; and though he writes sensibly on the point, yet I have reason to say that he had not duly considered it: for, I think, I can plainly prove, that the person meant there, whoever he was, could not be Silas, and still more plainly that he could not be Barnabas.

But the setting this matter in its due light would take up so much paper, that I shall forbear to enter into it now, the rather because your Lordship grants that, "could St. Luke be shewn to have published his Gospel before the writing this Epistle," it would be easily allowed that he is the person meant at this time. That point, my Lord, I think, I can clear by various arguments;

ments; one of them (which with me, I own, is of itself conclusive) I shall now lay before your Lordship. It springs from the account given by St. Paul (1 Cor. xv.) of the several appearances of Christ after he arose from the dead. Your Lordship has, I am sure, observed that there are some very material circumstances in that account, of which St. Luke takes no notice in his Gospel; for instance, our Lord's appearing to five hundred brethren at once, to James *εἶτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάντων*. Now, had St. Luke published his Gospel after the date of this Epistle, it is to me, I own, utterly inconceivable that he should omit the insertion of some of these circumstances, if he knew of them. And that he must know of them is plain, because, supposing he was not sent with the Epistle itself, yet it appears, from the history of the Acts, that he was about that point of time, just before, and afterwards, attending on St. Paul, and could not therefore be ignorant of the contents of it.

Your Lordship knows well, that the appearance to Peter mentioned by St. Paul is related by no other Evangelist but St. Luke. Now, had St. Luke taken this circumstance from St. Paul's Epistle, he would from thence have taken others also into his account, which are of more moment, and yet are omitted by him.

The former part of St. Paul's account (contained in ver. 3, 4, 5,) is exactly agreeable to St. Luke's; and one would be apt to think, upon a careful comparison of some of the expressions there with those of St. Luke [xxiv. 45, 46, 47.], that he had an eye to them. And, if he had, his introduction to that account [ver. 1. and 2.], wherein he remarkably dwells on the words

τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, and εὐηγγελισάμενος, will have an easy and natural reference to the Gospel which he had preached, and which St. Luke, from his authority chiefly, though not only, had committed to writing.

The following verses in St. Paul [6, 7.] contain additional evidences of the resurrection, unmentioned by St. Luke. And yet St. Paul expressly avers, that he laid before the Corinthians these very evidences of Christ's resurrection, when he first preached the Gospel to them [i. e. circiter A. D. 52, at the lowest]; consequently either St. Luke knew nothing of what St. Paul had thus preached to the Corinthians (which, all circumstances considered, is not to be supposed); or he thought these particulars not worth inserting in his Gospel (which nobody will imagine); or (which is most reasonable to believe) he had already published his Gospel, before A. D. 52; and therefore took no notice of these particulars, because he had not, at the time of his writing, a full knowledge of them. And this supposition (the only one that, upon the whole, seems to me in any degree probable) agrees with what Theophylact, and the ἀπογραφὰι of the MSS. of St. Luke, generally affirm. I think there are fifteen of them in Kuster's edition, that fix the æra of this Gospel about A. D. 48, or 49; an authority, which, though not of itself perhaps very strong, yet must have great weight, when it falls-in with many other concurrent proofs and probabilities, and is not, that I know of, expressly contradicted by any one of the Ancients. If it be, your Lordship can easily, and therefore I doubt not will readily, inform me.

You

' You see, my Lord, what I aim at, and have one instance by what methods I propose to arrive at it. There is another part of the Evangelic history, relating to the institution of the Eucharist, and occurring in the same Epistle, xi. 25; which will furnish reflections of the same nature with the foregoing, particularly in respect of the words *τὸ ποιεῖτε ὁσάκις ᾶν πίνῃτε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*, which are by St. Paul applied to the cup, but by St. Luke omitted. I shall not add any thing on that head to what I have already said, because I would not give your Lordship or myself an unnecessary trouble, and because indeed I hope the former instance to be much the strongest. However, these two being the only parts of the Gospel history explained by St. Paul in his Epistles, I have suggested what uses may alike be made of both of them. If your Lordship approves this way of reasoning, and will be pleased at your leisure to let me into any new ways of confirming it; or if you do not approve it, and will freely let me know your objections, and set them in the strongest light; either the one or the other will be very welcome to me: for I aim at nothing but truth, and the service of our common Christianity; and I would not endeavour to serve the one at the expence of the other; nor advance any hypothesis, how plausible soever, which either may at last by abler men be confuted, or be attended with ill consequences which I am not aware of. Your Lordship therefore will do the part of a good friend, if you shew yourself as willing, as I know you are able, to set me right in any of these particulars.

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As to what your Lordship adds in your last concerning 2 Cor. viii. 18. from Chrysostom and Oecumenius (i. e. from Chrysostom, for the other only follows him); I beg leave to say, that those are words of doubt only, and carry no positive opinion; whereas both elder and greater authorities (such I esteem Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome) expressly affirm St. Luke to be meant there. And if there be any antient Writer (I mean of Chrysostom's time or before) who directly affirms the contrary, your Lordship can and will let me know it.

In the other point, the time of St. John's writing his Gospel, which I take to have been before the destruction of Jerusalem, I own the testimony of some of the Ancients to be against me, though not to that degree as it is commonly understood to be. And there are many things to be said, which will lessen the authority of such testimony, particularly that it has not that age it ought to have, in order to weigh much in the dispute: but I will not enter into those matters at present; especially since my chief reliance in the case is, I confess, upon internal arguments; of which the silence of the Evangelist in relation to the destruction of Jerusalem seems to me to be the strongest, when compared with the genius and manner of St. John's writing, and his well-known way of applying and expounding the prophetic predictions of our Lord; which is peculiar to him, and practised, I think, by none of the other three Evangelists. But of this I wrote more largely to your Lordship in my last.

Your Lordship objects, that "nothing occurs in " St. John's Gospel which implies that Jerusalem was
 " standing

“standing at the time of his writing it.” If it were so, yet I see not how this observation will affect the point; since neither does any thing of that kind, as far as I remember, occur in any of the other three Gospels, which yet were all certainly written, and are granted to have been written, before the ruin of Jerusalem. I except only the prophecies there recorded concerning its destruction, which may be thought to imply that it was then standing when the Evangelists wrote. If they do not imply this, it is only because they do not hint any way to us that those prophecies were then fulfilled. And for the same reason I should think it right to conclude that St. John wrote before that destruction, because he gives us no hint of it; though it be his custom so to do in like cases, and for that end to repeat somewhat of our Lord’s discourses found in the other Evangelists, and add new circumstances to them, in order to observe afterwards somewhat about the completion of them. If neither Matthew, Mark, nor Luke, who copiously relate the prophecies concerning the devastation of Jerusalem, say any thing whereby it may appear that it was then standing when they wrote; why should it be expected St. John should be particular on that head, if he wrote, as they did, before the event happened? But if he wrote after it, there was great reason to expect that he should have taken notice of it; both because that is agreeable, as I said, to his manner of writing, and because the event itself was one of the most remarkable things that ever happened in the world, and was very often and very expressly foretold by Christ, and did therefore, when it happened, tend very much

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towards

towards establishing the credit of the Gospel prophecies; of which this is the chief, after those which immediately relate to the person and doctrine of our Saviour. If any of St. Paul's or St. Peter's Epistles had been written after this event, would it not have been natural for them to have referred to it, and argued from it, and made use of it every way towards procuring the conversion of the Jews? And can St. John, in his Gospel, be supposed to have neglected so great an opportunity, as he must have done if it was really written after Jerusalem was destroyed? Nor are his omissions as to other parts of our Lord's story, for example his nativity and last supper, of any weight to justify this; for as these instances had been fully related already, so could there be no new advantage drawn from repeating and enlarging the accounts of them; whereas the predictions of Christ concerning the unparalleled fate of Jerusalem did, when completed, afford ample matter of instruction both to Jews and Heathens: and one would think it impossible for an Apostle (especially St. John, on the account before given) to write a Gospel subsequently to that event, without taking any notice of those predictions, and making a due use of them. And his silence in this case is the more observable, because in one or two places of his Gospel he had a natural occasion of mentioning this event, had it really happened before he wrote.

The first of them is, chap. iv. 21. where he says to the Samaritan woman; "Believe me, the hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father." Could any thing be

more agreeable to St. John's character and style, than to have inserted in this place words like these; "This he spake of the temples at Jerusalem and on Mount Gerizim, which were afterwards destroyed," if indeed he had after those great events written his Gospel?

The second place is, chap. xi. 48. where the Chief Priests and Pharisees assembled in council are represented by St. John as saying, "If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him; and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation." If the Romans had then actually taken away their place and nation when St. John wrote, is it credible that he should not have observed it in a word or two, "as they did soon afterwards," or the like. In the very next verses to this, the Evangelist observes upon Caiaphas's speech, that "he spake it not of himself; but being High Priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation; and not for that nation only, but also that he should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad." Here, to explain the import of Caiaphas's words, St. John instances two facts which had actually come to pass before he wrote, the death of Christ, and the propagation of his Gospel among the Heathen; but he says nothing of the extirpation of the Jews, which had then also come to pass (if he wrote indeed so late as he is supposed to have done); and to a mention of which the words of Caiaphas, as well as those of the Romans before recited, would have naturally led him.

In short, my Lord, the allowing a Gospel, in which these passages are, to have been written after Jerusalem was

was laid waste, without any notice there taken of the event, does, in my humble opinion, tend toward suggesting a reflection that may be made use of by Infidels, to disparage the character of St. John, and weaken the credit of his testimony. I dare not to explain my meaning *.

But to return. I have hitherto endeavoured to shew (and could more amply have shewn) that St. John's Gospel might be, and was probably, written before the destruction of Jerusalem; though it should be granted nothing occurs there whereby it may appear that Jerusalem was then destroyed. But, my Lord, this, after all, is what I cannot grant; the second verse of his fifth chapter being to me a clear instance to the contrary: *Ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ κολυμβήτρει, ἣ ἐπιλεβομένη Ἑβραϊστὶ Βηθεσδα, πέντε σοαὶς ἔχουσα.* The whole tenor of the words, to my apprehension, implies that that edifice with five porches (and consequently Jerusalem itself) was then standing when this passage was written. Indeed the Complutensian and Wechelian editions read *ἑξή* and *ἥ*, but without any authority that I can find; there being no MS. now extant that reads the text otherwise than we do, nor any version, beside two of no great weight, the Arabic and Persian, that countenances such a reading; and perhaps these two versions may appear otherwise to those who have recourse to the originals in the Polyglott; for Dr. Mill, whose authority I follow in this case, owns that he only consulted the Latin translations of these.

* Instead of this last sentence a different reading of the Bishop's runs: " 'Tis a reflection which (to use the words of 'a certain writer) can do no good, and shall therefore do no harm; for which reason I forbear to explain it."

Should there be no other instance of this kind in St. John's Gospel (as indeed I know not that there is), yet this one is of very great moment, if we consider that there is not so much as one in all the other three Evangelists, which yet were all certainly written while Jerusalem was standing.

I have tired you, my Lord; and therefore shall end abruptly, with assurances that what I have said proceeds from no fondness for my own opinions; that I wish indeed I may be able to make out what I propose, because I think it would be of some service to Religion. However, I shall be as ready to part with what I maintain, as I now am to maintain it, when I find the weight of the argument is against me.

I do not expect from your Lordship any elaborate discussion of these matters, but your judgement upon the whole, and either such hints as offer themselves towards strengthening my opinion, or such objections as you think will overthrow it. I am aware of some of this latter kind; but they are such as I know how to deal with. Your Lordship (if any one can) can supply me with more and stronger; and if you cannot, or I cannot answer the objections raised by you, I shall look upon the point as every way secure. I am, my Lord, your very affectionate brother, and faithful humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCXCVIII. From General DILLON (under the name of DIGBY) to Mrs. WESTERN*, inclosed to Mr. GEORGE WILLIAMS, at Mrs. HARBIN's over against Somerset-House.

DEAR MADAM,

Saturday, July 25, 1722.

I Cannot on any reasonable grounds complain of your silence, though long it appears, because I am informed of the situation of your health, and the concerns your family are in, *by bankrupts and law-suits* †. Permit me, however, to fulfill a part of my duty, in presenting you my best respects, and unalterable attachment to you and yours. I wish this may find you so far recovered from past mischances, as that you may be once more in a humour of affording me a comfortable line. I have *all the stock I bought* lying by; and I intend it shall remain so, until you advise me of a proper time to dispose of it; being fully convinced that, in the slippery age we live in, I cannot confide to any better than you. I hear many say, that *our stocks* will infallibly rise again to a good height, by Mr. Walpole's wife and able management; from whence I should hope not to be so much a loser in reserving mine. Still my lights at this distance can be but very imperfect: therefore, *dear Madam*, I will earnestly pray your direction, when you find leisure to grant me this favour, as also of forgiv-

* This name is asserted in the Report to mean the Bishop. But that circumstance those who wrote the letter might easily contrive.

† The few words printed in Italics are all that were attempted to be disguised in the present letter; and those are sufficiently explained in the Report.

ing this trouble, for which I offer amends in any manner I can be of service to you. The few acquaintances of yours I converse with in these parts are well; and rely, as I do, on your friendly advice, in a most particular manner, about their concerns in the *funds*. They desire you will be pleased to admit Mr. *Skinner* * to receive your commands, who is directed to call upon you, and explain some particulars too tedious for a letter. He seems to be very ready at business, and will obey your orders punctually. I am, with the greatest esteem and sincerity, dear Madam, your most humble and most obedient servant,

DICBY.

CCXCIX. From Dr. WALL †.

July 26, 1722.

IN order to find who that "brother" was, spoken of by St. Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 18, 19. there may be made these observations.

1. That principal one; that he was one whose "praise" "in the Gospel" was at that time spread in "all the churches," ver. 18.

2. That he was one of three (whereof Titus was one) sent with a letter at that time [viz. anno Christi according to Bishop Pearson, 57; according to the new chronology (by Dean Prideaux, I suppose) 59] by St. Paul and Timothy from Macedonia to the Corinthian Christians, to get ready their contributions against the time that St. Paul should come.

* Who in other letters is called *Stanley*.

† Indorsed by Bp. Atterbury, "Dr. Wall's paper relating to the passage 2 Cor. viii. 18, 19. Τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ ὁ ἑπαινεῖς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. Delivered by him to me, July 26, 1722."

3. That

3. That Titus was well known to them, having been there on the same errand before; but this brother was not personally known to them (his "praise in the Gospel" they, as well as other Churches, may be supposed to have heard); and therefore Paul writes to them his character, and the character of the third brother.

4. St. Paul tells them, that this brother was already "chosen by the Churches" (particularly the Churches of Macedonia, where he now was when he wrote) "to travel with him, with that grace," or charity-money, which they had contributed, and which he and this brother were to carry to Jerusalem, ver. 19. And he had told them, in a letter before, 1 Cor xvi. that if they pleased to choose any of their body to go with their money, they should be welcome to go with him. Therefore this brother must be supposed to have gone afterward with St. Paul to Jerusalem.

5. St. Paul having in a short time followed these his three messengers from Macedonia to Corinth, and stayed there about three months, and received the money; and finding himself way-laid if he should sail directly from thence to Syria or Judæa, went back to Macedonia, and crossed the sea there into Asia. And St. Luke, Acts xx. 4. gives us the names of all, except himself, "that accompanied him into Asia," viz. Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timotheus, Tychicus, Trophimus. Those seven went over sea before: and "we," says St. Luke (meaning Paul and himself), followed in five days. He goes on to relate (speaking still in the first person) their voyage, and arrival at Jerusalem. Some of the foresaid that accompanied them into Asia

did (as appears from other places) hold on the journey with Paul to Jerusalem; but I suppose not all of them. But, however that be, one of these eight must be the man we enquire after.

6. It was not Timothy, by *Observ.* 2. for he was not one of the three sent; but did himself join in sending the letter. And there is not one of the other seven but St. Luke to whom the *first observation* can agree. For in what sense soever those words, "whose praise is in the Gospel through all the Churches," be taken; none of the other, either by writing or preaching, &c. was yet generally known. On the contrary, they seem to have been all late converts; and this is the first time that they are named or spoken of in the History of the Gospel. Afterward indeed some of them are often spoken of in the Acts and in the Epistles: but that is nothing to a character given at this time. But to St. Luke it agrees very well; for, letting go those improbable stories of his having been one of the seventy-two, &c. the opinion of Bishop Pearson [*Annales Paulini ad ann.* 51.] is very probable and confirmed, as he shews, by the *Codex Cantabr.* that he was a Christian of Antioch at that time [ann. 43] when, and where, as he relates, "the disciples were first called Christians." But if we take no more than what he plainly tells of himself, Acts xvi. he was one of St. Paul's followers and companions when he was at Troas, before his passage into Europe ann. 51, Pearson; 53, Prideaux; which was six years before this time. And he came over with him into Macedonia, and speaks in the first person ["affu-
redly gathering, that the Lord had called *us* to preach
"the

"the Gospel unto *them*"]. So that he was, from this time at least, a preacher of the Gospel. When the persecution in Macedonia was so great that the Christians there privately conducted Paul to Athens, St. Luke says, that Silas and Timothy stayed there still; and so, it seems, did he himself; for he speaks no more in the first person for five or six years, till about this time. Where he spent those intermediate years is not, I think, remembered. It is probable, all, or a good part of them, in Macedonia; for there Paul left him; and there, as I take it, he found him, and sent him before on this charitable embassy to Corinth; and when they returned through Macedonia, he speaks of himself as being one of the company.

His having conversed for a considerable time with those Churches might incline them to make choice of him for one of their trustees. And those intermediate six years do allow a probable time of retirement for writing his Gospel. Baronius, as I find by Spondanus, fixes the time of his writing to the same year that Paul wrote the second Epistle to the Corinthians; but, I think, does not date the year as we do now; nor does he tell us his reasons. Irenæus, l. iii. c. 1. and Tertullian, c. Marcion. l. iv. c. 5. do both, in their mentioning of St. Luke's Gospel, call him "the disciple, the follower, fellow-labourer," of St. Paul; and Tertullian says of Mark and him, "Licet & Marcus quod edidit, Petri affirmetur, cujus interpres Marcus. Nam & Lucæ digestum Paulo ascribere solent." But they have nothing explicit concerning this text, or the time of their writing, save that of Irenæus's

Irenæus's date of St. Mark's writing: Μετὰ τὴν τέττον ἐξέδον, &c.

The opinion of Origen, Hierom, &c. whom your Lordship quotes, is far more considerable than that of St. Chrysostom *in loc.* He owns the common opinion that Luke is here meant, and that the words do refer to the Gospel written by him, διὰ τὴν ἰσοπλὴν ἥπερ ἐγέγραφε. But he himself is of another opinion, viz. that it was Barnabas. But he takes this opinion for a reason which would make any one dissent from him; because St. Paul here uses the word χειροτονήσας, his mind ran upon ordination. And συνέκδημος ἡμῶν he understands "ordained together." And because Barnabas and Paul had been both sent out together from Antioch in Syria a great many years before, he must be the man whom St. Paul now sent to Corinth; whereas, in all probability, they had not seen one another for several years, and perhaps never since they parted. Theodoret, I guess, may follow St. Chrysostom; for he does almost always: and ever since, here and there one commentator has guessed so. But the common opinion appears by the subscription at the foot of the Epistle, which is, I think, the same in all editions and MSS. that the carriers of the Epistle were "Titus and Luke."

There seems little doubt but Luke was the man. Whether the words do refer to his *written* Gospel, or to his preaching, or other such ways of promoting the doctrine and belief of the Gospel, is a question that will be resolved by every one in the sense that seems most obvious to him. The words themselves do by no means make a sufficient proof that he had then writ-

ten. But if it be otherwise proved that he had (which your Lordship gives hopes will be done to your hand), they do, I think, then very aptly receive that explication; and Origen and the others who have so understood them have thereby shewn their opinion to be that his was then extant. I do not apprehend that there can be any confirming of this sense from any other text or passage in Scripture; because there is no other place of Scripture that makes mention or speaks of any *written* Gospel; and therefore no instances can be given of that use of the word, save that some have understood St. Paul's *εὐαγγέλιον* $\mu\epsilon$ in that sense. But there it is as ambiguous as here. The most material, and, I think, only material argument, for that sense here, is that which your Lordship uses, that there is no other sense in which the elogium is applicable *peculiarly* to St. Luke: for as to praise for labour, or time, or success had in preaching the Gospel, Titus, one of the three sent, may be thought, at least, equal to him, being mentioned by St. Paul at other places, Gal. ii. as his fellow-labourer and companion of an earlier date, and in a more public and difficult struggle than St. Luke himself is. For St. Paul singled him out to go along with him to that dispute at the council of Jerusalem, which Bishop Pearson places ann. 49; the new chronology does, I know not for what reason, bring it down to 52: either of them is earlier than Luke's name appears in any Scripture History.

CCC. From Mr. POPE.

July 27, 1723.

I HAVE been as constantly at Twickenham as your Lordship has at Bromley, ever since you saw Lord Bathurst. At the time of the Duke of Marlborough's funeral*, I intend to lie at the Deanry, and moralize one evening with you on the vanity of human glory.

The Dutcheſs's † letter concerns me nearly, and you know all my thoughts without disguise: I must keep clear of flattery; I will: and as this is an honest resolution, I dare hope your Lordship will not be so unconcerned for my keeping it, as not to assist me in so doing. I beg therefore you would represent thus much at least to her Grace, that as to the fear she seems touched with, [that the Duke's memory should have no advantage but what he must give himself, without being beholden to any one friend;] your Lordship may certainly, and agreeably to your character, both of rigid honour and Christian plainness, tell her, that no man can have any other advantage; and that all offerings of friends in such a case pass for nothing. Be but so good as to confirm what I have represented to her, that an inscription in the ancient way, plain, pompous, yet modest, will be the most uncommon, and therefore the most distinguishing manner of doing it. And so I hope she will be satisfied, the Duke's honour

* See p. 221; and the "Illustrations" at the end of this volume, N° III.

† The Dutcheſs of Buckingham. See the "Illustrations" at the end of this volume, N° IV.

be preserved, and my integrity also, which is too sacred a thing to be forfeited, in consideration of any little (or what people of quality may call great) honour or distinction whatever, which those of their rank can bestow on one of mine; and which indeed they are apt to over-rate, but never so much as when they imagine us under any obligation to say one untrue word in their favour.

I can only thank you, my Lord, for the kind transition you make from common business, to that which is the only real business of every reasonable creature. Indeed I think more of it than you imagine, though not so much as I ought. I am pleased with those Latin verses extremely, which are so very good that I thought them yours, till you called them an Horatian cento, and then I recollected the *disjecti membra poetæ*. I will not pretend I am so totally in those sentiments which you compliment me with, as I yet hope to be: You tell me I have them, as the civilest method to put me in mind how much it fits me to have them *. I ought first to prepare my mind by a better knowledge even of good prophane writers, especially the Moralists, &c. before I can be worthy of tasting that supreme † of

* Archbishop Herring tells Mr. Duncombe, in a letter dated Sept. 2; 1757, "I thank you for your quotation from Erasmus. It is most excellent heresy, and would really be deemed so in some Protestant times and countries. The Bishop you mention, Pope's Correspondent [Atterbury], would have spurned at it in public, and perhaps in his closet fed upon the pleasure it would give him: for, if he was not worse used than any honest man in the world ever was, there were strong contradictions between his public and private character."

† See a note on Letter CCCXV. dated June . . . 1723.
books,

books, and sublime of all writings. In which, as in all the intermediate ones, you may (if your friendship and charity toward me continue so far) be the best guide to your, &c.

A. POPE.

CCCI. To Mr. POPE.

July 30, 1722.

I HAVE written to the Dutchess * just as you desired, and referred her to our meeting in town for a further account of it. I have done it the rather because your opinion in the case is sincerely mine : and if it had not been so, you yourself should not have induced me to give it. Whether and how far she will acquiesce in it, I cannot say; especially in a case where she thinks the Duke's honour concerned ; but should she seem to persist a little at present, her good sense (which I depend upon) will afterwards satisfy her that we are in the right.

I go to-morrow to the Deanry, and I believe I shall stay there till I have said "Dust to dust," and shut up that last scene of pompous vanity †.

It is a great while for me to stay there at this time of the year ; and I know I shall often say to myself, while I am expecting the funeral,

"O Rus, quando ego te aspiciam ! quandoque licebit

"Ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivæ vitæ !"

In that case, I shall fancy I hear the ghost of the dead, thus intreating me,

* Dutchess of Buckingham. See p. 204.

† The Funeral of the Duke of Marlborough, at which the Bishop officiated as Dean of Westminster. See p. 221.

" At tu facratæ ne parce malignus arenæ

" Offibus & capiti inhumato

" Particulam dare——

" Quanquam festinas, non est mora longa; licebit

" Injecto ter pulvere, curras."

There is an answer for me somewhere in Hamlet to this request, which you remember though I do not. " Poor Ghost, thou shalt be satisfied!"—or something like it. However that be, take care you do not fail in your appointment, that the company of the living may make me some amends for my attendance on the dead.

I know you will be glad to hear that I am well: I should always, could I always be here—

" ——Sed me

" Imperiosa trahit Proserpina: vive, valeque."

You are the first man I sent to this morning, and the last man I desire to converse with this evening, though at twenty miles distance from you,

" Te veniente die, Te, decedente, requiro."

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCII. From Bp. POTTER.

MY LORD,

Cuddeston, July 30, [1722.]

I HAD sooner acknowledged the favour of your letter, but that my thoughts and time were so much taken up with my visitation, and other affairs, that I could not so fully consider it as it deserves, which I doubt not your Lordship will excuse.

I hope

I hope that in my former letter no expression was dropped which seemed to imply that your reasons for the early writing of St. Luke's or St. John's Gospel did not carry with them a good degree of probability, which indeed they seem to me to do. I may say farther, that many such concurrent probabilities may produce some degree of certainty; though I must confess that none of them, considered separately and apart from others, seem to me to infer any certain conclusion: for example, it may be probable, but doth not seem to me to be certain, that St. Luke's Gospel was written before the first Epistle to the Corinthians, merely because several circumstances of our Lord's history recorded in that Epistle are not found in St. Luke's Gospel; for it is possible that St. Luke might not be in actual attendance on St. Paul when this Epistle was written; and if he was in such attendance, it is possible he might not read it. May not your Lordship, or any other Bishop, write letters of great importance, which are not communicated to all, or to any, of those Chaplains who attend on you? Again, should it be granted that St. Luke was acquainted with the contents of this Epistle, it seems not absolutely certain that he would have inserted them into his Gospel: for it can hardly be thought that our Lord's appearance to "above five hundred brethren at once" (to say nothing of his other appearances) was unknown either to St. Matthew or St. John, or indeed to St. Mark, who nevertheless have not thought fit to mention it: and there is no doubt but all these Evangelists knew many things relating to our Lord's history, which they have not committed to writing.

One

One of them expressly says, "Many other signs truly " did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, &c." And again, "There are also many other things which Jesus " did, &c." It was not in their intention to write every thing said or done by our Lord, but only so much as was necessary for the conviction of persons well disposed: "These are written that ye might believe, &c." John xx. 30, 31. xxi. 25. Again: St. Luke might learn the several parts of our Lord's history from the conversation of St. Paul, as well as from his Epistles. Ancient Writers assure us that he did so, and on that account "my Gospel," in St. Paul, is by some thought to be St. Luke's Gospel; which opinion your Lordship seems to favour. But may not the silence of St. Luke as to some of our Lord's appearances, &c. equally prove that his Gospel was written before ever he attended on St. Paul, as that it was written before the first Epistle to the Corinthians?

As to St. John, it seems to be at least possible that his Gospel might be written after the destruction of Jerusalem, though he hath never mentioned that event; for though he hath mentioned the completion of *some* of our Lord's prophecies, it doth not thence follow, nor can it be proved, that it was his intention to take notice of the completion of *all* which at the time of his writing had been fulfilled: and there is no doubt but many had then been fulfilled which are not mentioned by him. In particular as to the destruction of Jerusalem, the prophecy concerning it is so fully related by other Evangelists, and the fulfilling of this prophecy in all its parts was so notorious, and so fresh in men's memories when

St. John wrote his Gospel, that he might think it needless to say any thing about it. Then as to your Lordship's inference from John v. 2. "Ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, &c. which, if strictly construed, doth undoubtedly imply that Jerusalem was standing when this passage was written; it may be said, that things past are sometimes spoken of in the present tense: and your Lordship (if there was occasion) would probably soon suggest examples of Historians who speak in the same manner of cities destroyed long before their own time.

One far less versed in affairs of this nature than your Lordship appears to be, will easily find answers to those objections; but I must entreat you to remember, that my design is not to make a full or just reply to your reasons, which have indeed a great appearance of probability, but only to shew that the conclusion drawn from them is not absolutely certain: and I heartily wish and hope that your Lordship may be able to produce other probable arguments on the same side, all which considered together may end in a good moral certainty; who am, my Lord, your most affectionate brother and humble servant,

JO. OXFORD.

I think Irenæus expressly affirms, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel μετὰ τὴν ἐξοδον, "after the death," of St. Paul. But my Irenæus being at Oxford, I will not be positive. Your Lordship may be pleased to turn to his third Book, not far from the beginning.

CCCIII. To Bp. POTTER *.

MY LORD,

Bromley, Aug. 1, 1722.

I HEARTILY thank you for your letter which I received this morning, and for the objections you raise against what I offered in my last. I will make the best use of them I can, if I have life and leisure to finish what I propose. I see your Lordship is jealous of any thing, how well soever meant, that may shake the credit of ancient testimony: and so am I; and shall therefore be very wary how I dispute the authority of the Ancients in any case but

* Indorsed by Bp. Atterbury, "The beginning of my answer to the Bishop of Oxford's letter, July 30, 1722. "Written the day I received it, viz. Aug. 1, at Bromley." To this correspondence Bp. Atterbury alludes in his Speech (vol. IV. p. 422.) when he urges the improbability of his being engaged in a plot when the death of his wife was not only daily but hourly expected; when he was carrying on buildings of various kinds at Westminster and Bromley; when he was consulting all the books of the Church of Westminster from the foundation; and was "engaged also in "a correspondence with two learned men, about a subject of "great use and equal difficulty, the settling the times of writing the Four Gospels." It appears also by another Letter †, that Bp. Atterbury had some correspondence with Dr. Brett and Mr. Collier, "on the difference of sentiments about "administering the Holy Eucharist, which had occasioned a "separation among the Nonjuring Clergy;" and that "he "had perused two papers proposed to be signed on each side, "for the extinguishing that dispute, and preventing the ill "consequences of it." I mention this circumstance here, in hopes of tracing out some valuable Letters of Atterbury; through the means of any curious gentleman who may by chance have preserved the papers either of Bp. Potter, Dr. Wall, Dr. Brett, or Mr. Collier. Others may possibly remain among the papers of the late Archdeacon Yardley. See vol. I. p. 480.

† See in vol. III. a Letter dated May 19, 1731.

where I think I can pretty evidently prove their mistake, and where it is plainly for the interest of the Christian Religion that they should be mistaken. Irenæus, in some chronological matters, is notoriously mistaken; and must be given up, or we must give up authorities of much greater consequence. His talent was in relation rather to doctrines, than account of time, in which he is far from being accurate. His error concerning the extent of our Saviour's age (not to mention others) is a clear proof of it: I have him not here: but, as I remember, his words [*“μετὰ τῇ τέττων (i. e. Peter and Paul's) ἐξῆδον”*)] introduce his account of the time of writing, not St. Luke's, but St. Mark's Gospel; and for that end Dr. Mill cites them, that this comes to the same; for St. Luke certainly wrote after St. Mark. And if St. Mark therefore wrote after St. Peter's death, much more must St. Luke so have done. Your Lordship knows well the inconsistency of this assertion with the tradition recorded on this head by your Clement of Alexandria, and what conjectures learned men of late have been forced to take up with, in order to save Irenæus's credit. *Μετὰ τὴν τέττη ἐκδοσιν*, I think Grotius reads, meaning the edition of St. Matthew's Gospel, and quotes a MS. which nobody ever saw, and is justly supposed to have gone no farther for this various reading than the guess of Christopherfon; (though there is, I own, a parallel place in Euseb. l. iii. c. 14. as my memorandums tell me) where, upon all occasions, these words are used by Eusebius himself; and I set them down, because I know not of any one that has made and applied this observation before me, *Ἡδὲ δὲ Μαίρη καὶ Λεκά*

τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς εὐαγγελίων τὴν ἔκδοσιν πεποιημένων, &c.) Br. Pearson, Dodwell, &c. will have it signify *exitum à Roma*, and strain hard to prove it; whereas I am entirely of your Lordship's sentiments, that ἔξοδον there means plainly the *death* of those Apostles, agreeably to St. Luke's use of the word, chap. ix. ver. 31. and to St. Peter's own phrase concerning himself, μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον, 2d Epistle i. 15. And it being certain that St. Luke's Gospel was written after St. Mark's, and before his own Acts, and that his Acts were written some years before the death of St. Paul; it is very certain that Irenæus must in this case be mistaken; and I think, for many reasons, there should be no difficulty in owning it. Papias, who is his great authority in such cases, being σφόδρα μικρὸς τὸν νῆν, mistook often the true sense of the traditions reported by him; and Irenæus seems in this case even to have mistaken Papias, who, as I find his words in Mill (for neither have I Eusebius by me) doth not mean that St. Peter was dead when St. Mark wrote. Ὅσα ἀπ' ἐμνημόνευσε, is his phrase; and that may mean what St. Mark remembered during the life, as well as what he recollected after the death of St. Peter. The passage immediately preceding these words in Irenæus is of the same stamp, where he says St. Matthew published his Gospel in Hebrew: τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τῷ Παύλῳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θμελιεύων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν; which has induced our learned men to depress the writing of St. Matthew's Gospel so low as they have done; and for that reason proportionably to thrust down the date of the three succeeding Gospels; for it is certain that St. Peter and St. Paul could never meet at Rome, nor could

the latter of these preach at Rome till full thirty years after the ascent of our Saviour. I have sometimes been willing to imagine that Irenæus's words in this case are misunderstood by us, and signify only that Matthew preached at Jerusalem to the Hebrews, and published his Gospel in their language; *whereas* (not *whilst*) St. Peter and St. Paul preached at Rome, and founded a Church there, and μετὰ τὴν τέτων ἔξοδον (as it follows) St. Mark and St. Luke wrote their Gospels, and published in them what those Apostles had thus preached. But I confess this is not the most natural interpretation of Irenæus's words, nor agreeable to the old Latin version of them; and therefore I am forced to abandon this gloss, and leave Irenæus here also to shift for himself. And I cannot but observe that Eusebius, the relater of this testimony of Irenæus, did notwithstanding it, fix the time * of St. Matthew's writing his Gospel to the 8th year after the passion of Christ; and therefore he either understood that passage in Irenæus otherwise than we do, or disregarded his authority. And what he did then, we may do now under the cover of his authority; especially if we can by convincing internal evidence (which Eusebius has not done) support the truth of our opinion.

Pardon me, my Lord, if I add a little in relation to the objections you raise: I hope what I say will incite you to strengthen them, and add to their number; and it is with that view I load your Lordship with such long letters,

* H. E. l. iii. c. 24, says Mill.

You

You say, "It is possible St. Luke might not be in actual attendance on St. Paul when this Epistle was written; or, if he was, he might not read it."

If the second to the Corinthians was written at the time Bp. Pearson and Dr. Mill place it, I undertake to prove from the History of the Acts (diligently considered), that St. Luke was in actual attendance on St. Paul at the time of his writing it. Or, if he were not, yet that he should not read it afterwards, before he wrote his Gospel, is to me inconceivable, considering the reverence he bore to St. Paul's character, and his studious observation of every thing that belonged to him. St. Luke was a Writer himself, and without doubt a curious enquirer into what St. Paul wrote, as well as preached. He that did παρακολουθεῖν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς that related to the history of Christ, could not be so negligent as to omit the reading of one of the most famous Epistles of St. Paul, which was doubtless communicated from Corinth to "all the Churches of Achaia," that are said to salute the Corinthians at the end of St. Paul's first Epistle to them, and was well known and much read at Rome itself, as appears from St. Clement's Epistle written ten or eleven years after it: nay, it is plain that St. Luke had not only read, but studied this Epistle, by the use of some remarkable phrases in the Acts, which occur not in his Gospel, or elsewhere in the New Testament but in one of these two Epistles; which has made me sometimes suspect that St. Luke might be concerned in penning, as well as carrying this Epistle to the Corinthians. But that is a point which

requires greater consideration than I have yet been able to allow it.

But you say, "Had he been acquainted with the contents of this Epistle, it seems not absolutely certain that he would have inserted them into his Gospel." Your words are strong, my Lord, and cautious. But surely it appears "in the highest degree probable" that he would have inserted them, upon a point of such consequence as the proof of Christ's resurrection, which he plainly labours in his Gospel to establish by a greater variety of evidence, and that related more particularly, than was done by the preceding Evangelists. Nor was he contented with what he had said in his Gospel on this head, and that of the ascension (the last and strongest proof of the resurrection): but when he wrote the Acts, and had now more fully informed himself, he added (in his first chapter) farther particulars concerning them; by way of supplement to his Gospel, no doubt: for those particulars are bounded within the time of that history, and do not immediately belong to the history of the Acts of the Apostles, which he was then writing. I must think that, if he had been fully apprized of these particulars before he wrote his Gospel, he would have inserted them there; but, coming to the knowledge of them afterwards, he took the most natural and proper opportunity he could of mentioning them. And it is observable, that he has scattered new hints of the same kind throughout the Acts, relating to particulars not mentioned (though deserving to be mentioned) in his Gospel; of which I remember I gave your Lordship one
re-

remarkable instance *, in that saying of Christ which St. Luke has recorded, Acts xx. from a speech of St. Paul, at which he appears to have been present, about five years before the history of the Acts ends; which saying (a very remarkable one) I cannot doubt but St. Luke would have inserted into his Gospel, had he published it after the time of that speech, and have told us perhaps the occasion upon which it was uttered by our Lord.

You add, that "it can hardly be thought that our Lord's appearance to more than 500 brethren at once was unknown either to St. Matthew or St. John, or indeed St. Mark; who nevertheless have not thought fit to mention it;" and you infer from thence, that though St. Luke also might have known it from St. Paul's Epistle, yet he might, as the others did, omit to record it.

My Lord, as to St. Matthew, I can, I own, give myself no satisfactory account of his omissions either in this case or in another (perhaps of more consequence), the ascension of our Lord, concerning which he is totally silent; but I firmly believe that the Holy Spirit moved other Evangelists to write, in order to supply his omissions, and farther to explain and illustrate several passages in the story of our Lord. That this was St. Mark's design, will appear to any one that carefully compares his Gospel with that of St. Matthew, step by step, in an harmony; he will find that he does little more than regulate the order of St. Matthew's relations, and epitomize them, in order to add somewhat new on those heads wherein he

* P. 188.

otherwise agrees with him. His intention, I say, was to supply, as briefly as he could, what he thought wanting either to be cleared in St. Matthew, or added to him; but not to write an entire Gospel himself, without any reference to what had been written before him. He has therefore added, in a concise manner, some new proofs of the resurrection, as they fell in with his design, and as he had them from the relation of St. Peter (who perhaps was not present at this appearance of our Lord to the 500 brethren); and having so done, his end in writing his Gospel was sufficiently answered; though he did not collect every thing that was possible to be (or hath since actually been) further added to the history. But St. Luke's professed design was to write as complete an account as he could of our Saviour's story; *πληρέζων εὐαγγέλιον*, as Epiphanius somewhere calls that of the; and as he traced it as high as he could, and prefaced it with many particulars not * . .

CCCIV. To Mr. OSBORN ATTERBURY, at Oxford.

DEAR OBBY,

[Of uncertain date.]

I THANK you for your letter, because there are manifest signs in it of your endeavouring to excel yourself, and by consequence to please me. You have succeeded in both respects; and will always succeed, if you think it worth your while to consider what you write, and to whom, and let nothing, though of a trifling nature, pass through your pen negligently: get but the way of

* This letter, here printed from the Bishop's own handwriting, ends imperfectly; and perhaps was never finished.

Writing

Writing correctly and justly, time and use will teach you to write readily afterwards; not but that too much care may give a stiffness to your style, which ought in letters by all means to be avoided. The turn of them should be always natural and easy, for they are an image of private and familiar conversation. I mention this with respect to the four or five first lines of yours, which have an air of poetry, and do naturally resolve themselves in blank verse. I send you the letter again, that you yourself may now make the same observation; but you took the hint of the thought from a poem, and 'tis no wonder therefore if you have heightened your phrase a little when you were expressing it. The rest is as it should be; and particularly there is an air of duty and sincerity in it, that, if it comes from the heart, is the most acceptable present you can make me: with these good qualities, an incorrect letter would please me; and without them, the finest thoughts and language would make no lasting impression upon me. The Great Being says, (you know) "my son, give me thy heart—" implying, that without it all other gifts signify nothing. Let me conjure you, therefore, never to say any thing, either in a letter or common conversation, that you do not think; but always let your mind and your words go together, even on the most slight and trivial occasions. Shelter not the least degree of insincerity under the notion of a compliment, which (as far as it deserves to be practised by a man of probity) is only the most civil and obliging way of saying what you really mean; and whoever employs it otherwise throws away truth for good-breeding; I need not tell you how little his character gets by such an exchange. I say not this as if I
sus.

suspected that in any part of your letter you intended only to write what was proper, without any regard to what was true; for I am resolved to believe that you were in good earnest from the beginning to the end of it, as much even as I am, when I tell you that I am your loving father *,

FR. ROFFEN.

* Osborn Atterbury, the Bishop's son, was elected from Westminster to Christ Church in 1722, and continued a student of that college till 1725; when he went to the East-Indies, and continued there till the death of his uncle † (who left him the reversion of his fortune), and of his father, who took no notice of him in his will ‡, which bears date Dec. 31; 1725. Returning to England in 1732, he was ordained by his father's great rival Bishop Hoadly; and in June 1746, obtained the rectory of Oxhill, Warwickshire. His mother, the Bishop's lady, was an Osborn, a distant relation to the Duke of Leeds; a great beauty, of little or no fortune, and lived at or in the neighbourhood of Oxford. She was no way related to Mrs. Smalridge (as she is by some supposed to have been). Mr. Osborn Atterbury married in 1732 Miss Sarah Ashworth §, and left her a widow with five children, two sons and three daughters. This lady died, at an advanced age, in Bromley College, in January 1789. Francis her eldest son (now D. D.) was educated on the foundation of Westminster, elected student of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1755; proctor there in 1760; and in that year was appointed by the present Archbishop of Cashel (then Bishop of Cloyne) his Domestic Chaplain; in 1770 was collated by him to the dignity of Precentor in the cathedral of Cloyne; and in 1776 was presented to the valuable living of Clonmel, or the Great Island, in the same diocese.

† See vol. I. p. 486.

‡ He received a *Shilling* only from Mr. Morice as executor to the Bishop. The lady whom he afterwards married was present at the interview; and the young man was so struck with *her* manner, that he soon after married her. Thus much is given on her own authority.

§ The following Extract from the Register of St. Anne, Black-Friars, has been communicated by Mr. Pridden:

"Osborn Atterbury, of Chelsea, Middlesex, Bachelor, was married
"by licence, 10th August, 1732, to Sarah Ashworth, spinster, of
"Thistleworth, Middlesex, by William Baily."

CCCV. From JOHN ANSTIS *, Esq.

MY LORD,

Tuesday afternoon, [Aug. 7, 1722.]

I SHEWED your Lordship's letter to the body of our Society, who are now together, who assure me that they intend not to print any ceremonial prior to the funeral †; and in truth it is impossible to do it, because we know not as yet, neither shall know till we come to Marlborough-house, the persons who will carry the banners; only we have a list of their names, without their precedencies.

Dr. Croftes had the numbers of the procession in the heraldic part, which, doubtless, he laid before your Lordship; and I assured you by a letter this morning, that I would send you to-morrow the number of persons who have notified to the office their designs to be present at this solemnity.

As to the procession in the Abbey, the form hath been always the same; that the Dean and Prebendaries in their copes, and the Choir in their surplices, attended towards the entrance into the Abbey, and proceeded between the great banner and the Officers of Arms that carried the trophies.

* Garter King of Arms for 30 years; of whom see some memoirs in the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 108.

† Of the Duke of Marlborough. See what the Bishop says to Mr. Pope on this occasion, pp. 204, 206. The ceremonial, being in itself curious, and, from Atterbury's situation as Dean of Westminster, being connected with his personal history, shall be given at large in the "Illustrations" at the end of this volume, N^o III.

When there were offerings, there were other solemnities; but I apprehend that at this funeral there is only to be an Anthem and the Funeral-service; after which, Garter proclaims the style at the opening into the vault, which, I think, ends this ceremony.

I really know not, my Lord, whether this be what your Lordship means: if I am mistaken, it is through no design of mine; and, if your Lordship pleases to send to-morrow about one of the clock, you shall receive not only the number, but the names of those too, who have given us any notice. I am your Lordship's most obedient servant,

JOHN ANSTIS.

CCCVI *. To the Right Honourable the Lord CARTERET, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, &c.

The humble Petition of MARY MORICE, Wife of WILLIAM MORICE, Esq. and only Daughter of the Right Rev. FRANCIS Lord Bishop of ROCHESTER,

SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioner's said father is committed prisoner to the Tower †, where he is so closely confined that no person is suffered to speak to him; and is in a very ill state of health.

Your

* This and No. CCCVIII (both written on the same sheet) are thus indorsed, "Copy of Mrs. Morice's petitions delivered to Lord Carteret and Lord Townshend at different times."

† The particulars of his apprehension are thus related. On the 24th of August, 1722, two officers, the under-secretary

Your petitioner therefore humbly prays your Lordship will be pleased to give her leave to visit her father,

cretary, and a messenger, went about two o'clock in the afternoon to the Bishop's house at Westminster, where he then was, with orders to bring him and his papers before the Council. He happened to be in his night-gown when they came in; and being made acquainted with their business, he desired time to dress himself. In the mean time his Secretary came in, and the officers went to search for his papers; in the sealing of which, the messenger brought a paper which he pretended to have found in his close-stool, and desired it might be sealed up with the rest. His Lordship observing it, and believing it to be a forged one of his own, desired the officers not to do it, and to bear witness that the paper was not found with him. Nevertheless, they did it; and, though they behaved themselves with some respect to him, they suffered the messengers to treat him in a very rough manner, threatening him, if he did not make haste to dress himself, they would carry him away undrest as he was. Upon which, he ordered his Secretary to see his papers all sealed up, and went himself directly to the Cockpit, where the Council waited for him. The behaviour of the messengers upon this occasion seems to have been very unwarrantable, if what the Author of "A Letter to the Clergy of the Church of England," &c. tells us be true, that the persons, directed by order of the King and Council, to seize his Lordship and his papers, received a strict command to treat him with great respect and reverence. However this was, when he came before the Council, he behaved with a great deal of calmness, and they with much civility towards him. He had liberty to speak for himself as much as he pleased, and they listened to his defence with a great deal of attention; and, what is more unusual, after he was withdrawn, he had twice liberty to re-enter the Council-chamber, to make for himself such representations and requests as he thought proper. It is said that, while he was under examination, he made use of our Saviour's answer to the Jewish Council while he stood before them; "If I tell you, ye will not believe me; and if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go." After three quarters of an hour's stay at the Cockpit, he was sent to the Tower, privately, in his own coach, without any manner of noise or observation. See Bp. Newton's account, in p. 275.

224 ATTERBURY'S EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

under such restrictions as your Lordship shall think proper.

And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

[Delivered 3d Sept. or 27th Aug.]

CCCVII. From Mr. MORICE *.

MY LORD,

Sept. 7, 1722.

NOT being able to have access to your Lordship by means of your close confinement, I thought it became my duty to you to act even without your directions, in what I thought might be for your service. Accordingly, this day the following petition was prepared to be offered to the Court at the Old Bailey; and Sir Constantine Phipps, seconded by Mr. Wynne†, made a motion to have the prayer in your behalf recorded; but the Court did not think they had sufficient authority to receive the same.

I am your Lordship's most obedient son and servant,

WM. MORICE.

* Indorsed, in the Bishop's hand, "Mr. Morice's petition at the session of oyer, &c. and what was done upon it." In proof of the alarm taken on occasion of the Bishop's confinement,

Sept. 19, 1722, was published, "A Letter to the Clergy of the Church of England, on occasion of the Commitment of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Rochester to the Tower of London. By a Clergyman of the Church of England. Price 6d."

A second Letter, Oct. 18, by a different hand.

Oct. 15, appeared, "The Layman's Letter to a Bishop of the Church of England, on the Bishop of Rochester's Commitment to the Tower of London for the Crime of High Treason."

† The late Serjeant of that name; of whom see the "Illustrations" at the end of Vol. IV. N^o I.

To

To the Right Honourable Sir WILLIAM STEWART, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London, and the rest of his Majesty's Justices assigned to deliver the Gaol of Newgate of the Prisoners therein; and also to his Majesty's Justices of Oyer and Terminer for the City of London and County of Middlesex.

The humble Prayer, or Petition, of MARY MORICE, Wife of WILLIAM MORICE, Esq. and Daughter of the Right Rev. Father in God FRANCIS Lord Bishop of ROCHESTER, on behalf of the said Lord Bishop;

SHEWETH,

THAT, by warrant under the hand and seal of Charles Lord Viscount Townshend, Baron of Lynn, &c. bearing date the 24th of August last, the said Lord Bishop was committed to his Majesty's Tower of London*, being charged therein with high treason; of

* Bp. Newton was " Captain of Westminster-school, when
 " their Chief Governor, the Dean, in August 1722, not
 " many days after performing the last office at the mag-
 " nificent funeral of the great Duke of Marlborough, was
 " taken into custody, and carried before a Committee of the
 " Privy council; where being under examination, he made
 " use of these words of our Saviour, ' If I tell you, ye will
 " not believe; and if I also ask you, ye will not answer me,
 " nor let me go;' and he was committed a prisoner to the
 " Tower for treasonable practices. There is too much rea-
 " son to fear that the Bishop had been dabbling in this kind
 " of politicks; but a full and clear detection of the conspiracy
 " was never obtained. The Ministry had got some scent of
 " his intrigues; but could not follow him through all his
 " turnings and windings, nor, with all their sagacity, could
 " trace him directly to his cover. They had little better evi-
 " dence than hear-says, conjectures, and inuendoes; and
 " could procure no sufficient legal proof to convict him by
 " trial at law. Recourse was had therefore to a bill of pains and
 " penalties, to deprive him of all his preferments and to banish
 " him the kingdom; which, after long debate, was carried by a
 " considerable majority in both houses." Bp. NEWTON.

which your petitioner believes he is in no respect guilty :
And having been confined there ever since ;

Your Petitioner therefore prays, on behalf of the said Lord Bishop, that his Lordship may be brought to his trial according to law, for the supposed crime with which he so stands charged ; or, in default thereof, that he may be bailed or discharged from his said imprisonment pursuant to the statute or statutes in that case made and provided : and for that purpose, that this honourable Court will please to award and grant a writ of Habeas corpus to be directed to the Lieutenant of his Majesty's Tower of London, or his deputy, in whose custody the said Lord Bishop still remains.

And your petitioner shall pray, &c.

Sept. 7, 1722.

MARY MORICE*.

CCCVIII.

* Those who were the Bishop's friends, and pretended to the greatest intimacy with him, were said at the time to have laid the whole odium of the matter upon the Ministry. " They knew the Bishop so well, they asserted, his love to our constitution, and attachment to the Protestant succession, his professed abhorrence of Popery, and settled contempt of the Pretender, and his caution, prudence, and circumspection, to be such, as would never allow him to engage in an attempt of subverting the Government, so hazardous in itself, and so repugnant to his principles ; and therefore they imputed all to the malice and management of a great Minister of state or two, who were resolved to remove him, on account of some personal prejudices, as well as the constant molestation he gave them in Parliament, and the particular influence and activity he had shewn in the late election."—The friends to the Ministry, on the other hand, were strongly of opinion, " that the Bishop was secretly a favourer of the Pretender's cause, and had formerly been tampering with things of that nature, even in the Queen's time, and while his party was excluded from power ; but, upon their re-admission, had relinquished that pursuit, and his confederates therein, and become a good subject again. They

CCCVIII. To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount TOWNSHEND, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, &c.

The humble Petition of MARY the Wife of WM. MORICE, Esq. and only Daughter of the Right Rev. FRANCIS Lord Bishop of ROCHESTER,

S H E W E T H,

THAT your Petitioner's father has been under strict confinement in the Tower of London ever since the 24th day of August last, and so closely kept, that, notwithstanding her near relation to him, she has not been indulged with the liberty of seeing him*. That he has long been under an ill state of health, and has frequent relapses of his illness; and it is matter of the greatest uneasiness to your petitioner, that she is so entirely debarred the sight of her father under such circumstances, the concern whereof has already much added to the ill health of your petitioner.

Your petitioner therefore humbly prays, that your Lordship will take it into your favourable consideration;

They urged, that the influence which the late Duke of Ormond had over him, assisted by his own private ambition and revenge, might prompt him to many things, contrary to his declared sentiments, and inconsistent with that cunning and caution, which, in other cases, he was master of. And to obviate the difficulty arising from the Bishop's aversion to Popery, and the Pretender's bigotry to that Religion. they talked of a new-invented scheme of his, not to receive the Pretender, whose principles were not to be changed, but his Son only, who was to be educated a Protestant in the Church of England; and the Bishop to be his guardian, and Lord-Protector of the kingdom, during his minority." These, and many more speculations, amused the nation at that time; and men, as usual, judged of things by the measure of their own affections and prejudices.

* See the note in p. 228.

so that she may have leave to visit her father, under such restrictions as shall be thought proper.

And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

[Delivered 21 Sept. 1722 *.]

CCCIX. The Authenticity of the following Extracts renders all apology for their insertion unnecessary.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, March 8, 1722-3.

MR. Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the House, that, since the Report from the Committee appointed to examine Christopher Layer and others, in relation to the conspiracy †, a letter from the Bishop of Rochester, in the said Bishop's own handwriting, had been seized upon his servant who attended him ‡; and that his Majesty had commanded him to lay the said letter before the House.

“ Monday

* A Sermon preached at Rochester, Oct. 7, 1722, by Charles Chambers, Vicar of Dartford, was published under the title of “ The Sacred Authority of Christian Bishops, and the Piety of praying for them in Prison.”

† To shew the various reports of the day on so remarkable an event, some paragraphs are here annexed from the news-papers of the time; and more shall accompany the subsequent Letters.

1722-3, Feb. 24. The Bishop of Rochester's coachman and footman, who used to go backward and forward between his Lordship's house in Westminster Abbey and the Tower, are taken into custody.—The same afternoon, Col. Williamson seized Mrs. Morice, the Bishop of Rochester's daughter, who came to enquire after her father's health, forced her to go into his house, and there searched her for papers, but found none.

26. The Bishop of Rochester is not yet recovered of his indisposition.

27. A poor man that used to work at his Lordship's garden at Bromley was taken into custody; as was (on the 28th) his secretary the Rev. Mr. Moore, vicar of Alderigate.

‡ March 4. We are told, that a letter was observed by a centry to be put in the bottom of a water-pot by the Bishop of Rochester;

“ Monday night.

“ I have the gout in my right-hand, and it is grown more troublesome than it was; should it continue to do so, I shall in a day or two be incapable of writing, and must therefore be contented with receiving what you shall send, without returning any answer, unless by the hand of a servant.

“ I take K's account to be the truest, that they are resolved to *push me*; but I cannot yet believe that it will be by *Bill*, but by an *Impeachment*: The consequence of which will be a Bill empowering the Chapter, &c. as I have said, while that Impeachment depends. In that case, the *particular* advice of friends, what steps I am to take, and how I am in every case to behave, would be very welcome. J. T. surely should be spoken to, to Rochester, in the Tower, and to be carried forth by a servant, which the centry discovered to the captain of the guard, who informed the Governor of it, who seized the said letter of a considerable length. It is wrote in his own hand, but his friends names are in cyphers. It is thought to be of consequence; and some say it contains instructions to his friends in a certain House how to argue on some particular points relating to him, when they come to be discussed there. It cannot be improper to observe, that eleven quire of paper and proportionate pens and ink were on this occasion found in his Lordship's keeping, although he complained that the chief grievance of his confinement was the want of pen, ink, and paper, whereby he was hindered from making a right use of his studies. N. B. A gaoler and a warder were lately discharged out of the Tower, for indulging his Lordship in freedoms, beyond their commission, whereby this paper, &c. was conveyed to him.

We hear a Protestant Prelate hopes to be banished, having laid this scheme for a Cardinal's cap.

5. The Bishop of Rochester is so strictly observed, that books are refused to go to him if sent to him by his friends. Mr. Morice, his son in law, was on Thursday last examined by a Committee of Council, and dismissed.

inform himself as well as he can in every respect, and to send me (by Y.) the best advice he can himself propose, or collect from others. If I judge right of what K. says, there are those who would be glad the arrow should be drawn to the very head, not caring though they venture my ruin, in hopes of ruining others. If there be any caution and wariness used in the case, it will, I apprehend, be on the side of the Ministry, for fear of their losing their point by overstraining the matter. I shall expect a further account of your conference at two o'clock to-day with K. Since the attack is certain, is any method taken to bring up the *Absent Lords*, particularly the *Bishops* *? Abingdon, I think, has

* " His brethren the Bishops were almost all unanimous
 " against him. The only one who spoke in his behalf, and
 " protested, was Gastrell Bishop of Chester, who yet had
 " been at variance with him. Willis Bishop of Salisbury
 " made a long and laboured speech on the other side, which
 " he published soon after, and was rewarded by the bishop-
 " rick of Winchester, as Bishop Hoadly was by succeeding
 " to Salisbury. Lord Bathurst, wondering at this unanimity,
 " said, that he could not possibly account for it, unless some
 " persons were possessed with the nature of the wild Indians,
 " that when they had killed a man they were not only en-
 " titled to his spoils, but inherited likewise his abilities †.
 " Bishop Hoadly was no speaker in that house, but he took
 " another course. He had all along pursued Atterbury with
 " unrelenting animosity, had first attacked his sermon at the
 " funeral of Mr. Bennet, then his sermon upon charity, af-
 " terwards set forth an answer in English to his Latin ser-
 " mon before the Clergy, and still continued the pursuit,
 " and stuck in his skirts to the last, by writing in a Weekly
 " Journal a refutation of his speech, and a vindication of the
 " judgement passed upon him; so that a gentleman of wit and
 " learning, alluding to Bishop Hoadly's lameness, applied
 " that saying in Horace,

" *Raro antecedentem scelestum*
 " *Deferuit pede poena claudus.*"

† See the "Illustrations" at the end of this volume, N^o V.

been

been away all the session. Anglesey can bring him up with him, if he pleases: but it is to no purpose for me to enter into particulars. This is the part of those who are concerned for me and the cause*; and their management in the case will shew to what degree their *concern* rises; and to them therefore I leave it.

“If the Narrative relates chiefly to Neynoe’s †, Sample’s, and Layer’s affairs, so far it cannot affect me; for

* See p. 244.

† “Some have suspected that there was more truth than there should have been in that confession of the villain Neynoe, that he knew nothing of the plot; but he knew of two other plots, one of his own to get money from Mr. Walpole, and the other of Mr. Walpole against the Protestant Lords, and particularly against the Bishop of Rochester, the chief of them, to pull down the pride of that haughty Prelate. But though it did not appear that the Bishop had any concern and connection with Layer and Layer’s plot, yet there was a greater intimacy between him and Kelly than either of them would acknowledge; for the *young gentleman* ‡ who lived at that time in the Bishop’s house as his son’s tutor and companion, has often said that Kelly used to come to him frequently, commonly once in a week, on a Thursday evening, and to stay shut up with him alone from seven o’clock till nine. The Earl of Sunderland § too, who was strongly suspected to have been of the same way of thinking, but died before the discovery, though he had no manner of acquaintance with the Bishop, or rather was at enmity with him in former times, yet in his latter days made him long and frequent visits, as even the King’s scholars observed, who walking and playing much in Dean’s-yard, had yet curiosity enough to remark who and what passed. Some of his negotiations also with the Pretender’s agents, after his going abroad, have been published in the year 1768, with a fac-simile, or exemplification of his hand writing; which whoever knew, he cannot well entertain any doubt of their authenticity.” Bp. NEWTON.—Those letters are preserved in the present volume, with another fac-simile of his hand-writing. See under the year 1725.

‡ Walter Titeley; see the “Illustrations,” No VI.

§ See . . 149.

I never heard of the names of either of the three till after this plot broke out.

“ If I cannot *ward the blow*, i. e. if the impeachment cannot be stopped, I am a prisoner for some years without remedy. In order to stop it in the H. of C. methinks it will be of moment to observe, That it is the first impeachment that ever was avowedly brought upon conjectural evidence. In other cases, the facts and circumstances upon which the impeachment brought being not previously declared, it could not be known whether the impeachers had not *sufficient grounds* to proceed upon. But here they *ante manum* produce their evidence, and *all* their evidence; and if that shall appear not sufficient to *found* an impeachment, methinks the very lodging of it may be stemmed.

“ If any of the *Committee* or the *Ministry* will aver that there is any *oath* made against me of treasonable practices by any *living witness*, or that they have any such witness who has *undertaken* to prove any crime against me when it shall be thought fit to proceed upon the impeachment; such assertions may induce the House to impeach. But, in such case, let the Ministry or Members of the Committee be obliged to deliver in the name of such person in a note, to be sealed and left with the Speaker, and opened when the discovery of such evidence will be attended with no inconvenience; let him *then* undertake to justify the truth of his assertion. Otherwise, to impeach a man, when there is *confessedly* no living evidence whatsoever against him, will be barbarous; especially after waiting *six* months to get some such evidence, and confining a prisoner all that while

while after the closest and most rigorous manner, to the evident hazard of his health and life. Such punishment, and the further confinement which the late law allows, is sufficient for *bare suspicion* of treason. And if in eight months more any evidence can after all be produced. the prisoner will be forthcoming then to answer his accusation. But to impeach him in hopes of finding evidence afterwards, and acknowledging there is none at present, is unreasonable in itself, altogether unparliamentary, and unprecedented. And such a precedent, once set, may be attended with terrible consequences, which others may feel in their turn. For whose liberty is safe, if the House of Commons may accuse any one, even when they *own* they have no *legal proof* against him? They are the Grand Inquest of the nation, and should find their Bill, as Grand Juries do, upon some positive evidence; they cannot. they ought not to, proceed solely upon conjectures and probabilities. This is the advantage I would make of their previous declarations in the Narrative; and it is, in my opinion, a very great advantage towards quashing any attempt that may be made towards an impeachment. I have not time to explain myself farther on this head; but should not be unwilling that what I have said should be shewed to some knowing friend in the House of Commons, upon whose strict secrecy, as well as good judgement, I may depend; particularly to Mr. Bromley*.

* See vol. I. pp. 85. 144; vol. IV. p. 207.—Macky's character of this gentleman, as drawn in 1703, is worth transcribing:

“ Mr. Bromley is of a good family in Warwickshire, and
 “ born to a considerable fortune; was bred up at Oxford,
 “ where, finishing his studies something sooner than usual, he
 “ travelled

“ If there be no impeachment, I shall certainly be at more liberty here when the Parliament is up ; and, being so, can put all capitular affairs into an easy method of being legally transacted, even when I myself am not present among them. Should there be an impeachment, a capacitating Bill will, as I have said, probably follow. But even then I can shew that it is unnecessary ; and nothing but necessity (and the unreasonableness of punishing twelve other men * for my faults) can ever justify it. Bishop Williams, Dean of Westminster †,

“ travelled very young, and afterwards printed such an account of his travels as he has long since been ashamed of.

“ The University of Oxford have for many years chosen him for their member, and have received no small credit from such a representative. He is a zealous assertor of Monarchy, a staunch Churchman, and a violent opposer of any measures which either encourage or favour Presbytery. Has for several years had the best interest in the House of Commons of any single person in it. No one is more listened to when he speaks, nor more deserves it. His orations are not light and superficial, but strong and persuasive.

“ The first Parliament after Dr. Sacheverell's trial chose him for their Speaker ; and, having with a great deal of honour and fidelity served them and his country, her Majesty thought fit to make him Secretary of state in the room of my Lord Dartmouth, who was made Privy seal.

“ He is a lusty gentleman, of a comely venerable countenance ; has wisdom and good-nature in his looks, and is reckoned one of the honestest men in the world ; is punctual in paying his debts, very charitable, and a great encourager of learning ; is not hard to be spoken with, gives his advice freely, hates flattery, and never promises but with a real intention to perform ; has always a great regard to merit, and seldom or never would promote a person, though ever so well recommended, without first trying his abilities. About fifty-five years old.”

* The Prebendaries of Westminster.

† John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of Westminster, 1620—1640 ; he died Archbishop of York in 1650.

was

was confined to his diocese for two or three years; and yet a method was found to renew leases * and do business at Westminster, necessary for the support of the body, during his absence. And when he was afterwards imprisoned in the Tower for two or three years more, and a commission under the Great Seal issued, empowering the Subdean and Chapter to proceed without him, this was looked upon as an unjustifiable strain of the prerogative, and one of the great blemishes of that reign. And when Bishop Williams came out of prison, he reversed all they had done (without his consent) in prejudice to his rights as Dean; and particularly voided ten patents of ten offices they had granted, the nomination to which was vested in him by charter and consequent usage.

“ In truth, the Dean, by charter and usage, has separate rights from the Chapter; these are personal, and can be exercised by him wherever he is, or by the Sub-dean, whom he always and solely appoints: And for the exercise of these rights, therefore, no Bill can be necessary. The Bishop of Bristol †, at this time, disposes of offices in his gift, chambers, &c. even when he is attending the Parliament, for six or seven months; and his Sub-dean governs the college ‡ in his stead, and, by a proxy lodged with him, is enabled in the Dean's name to transact all capitular business whatever, together with the Canons. But my hand is weary, and I am come to the end of my paper.

* This was also done in the present case. See the notes on a paper dated June 1, 1723.

† Dr. Boulter, Dean of Christ Church, afterwards Primate of Ireland.

‡ Christ Church.

“ What I have written on four sides may, I think, upon a review of it, be shewed by you in confidence to Mr. Bromley, though there are other things mixed with what I would have him see. You must not tell him what K. Y. &c. means, and then there is no harm. You should write a short note to him as soon as you receive this, and desire to know when you may wait upon him alone, and then shew him the paper, “ part of which “ you thought of transcribing, but it was too long, and “ you chose rather to leave the original with him for “ his perusal.” If he seems inclinable to return any answer, tell him you will transcribe it, and give him his paper back immediately. But I fear he will scarcely venture to make any but a verbal return. If so, do not take that verbal answer from him immediately; but desire him to appoint another time when you may wait on him and receive it, after he has (if he thinks fit) advised with friends. The intermixture of other business will make him see that the paper was not intended for him, and will be an excuse for the haste with which it was written. And the confidence you in that case place in him will probably procure a mutual return.

“ There is one more must know of the secret of the conveyance; and that is the person employed in making it, and procuring its being made. If it was not Sam himself; sift Sam, and know from him certainly who is privy to it, and enjoin him the utmost secrecy. Frank, I hope, knows nothing of it. I expect the event of the dialogue with William, and the other accounts from Q. to-morrow. You may, when you see Bromley, impart the story of that villainy to him, and desire his advice

vice

vice upon it, at what time, and in what manner, it may be proper for me to bring that matter upon the stage, and shew what extraordinary methods are taken to get at me, and beg the Lords' protection in the case against such vile practice. I hope William has not given into it, and then my way will (some time or other) be clearer towards a complaint; whenever it is proper, I think, the rascal my neighbour may be summoned before the Lords, and made to tell who employed him to proffer such sums, and be punished by them for such practices.

" If the butter you send me on Wednesday be *excellently good*, it will be as good a reason for my having it from *Westminster* as my having water from thence daily.

" If there be any proceedings against me, early care must be taken of money. I will not press you on that head; but the bond of 500 *l.* which the Chapter owes me in your name, being upon so good security, may easily be turned into money, by Z. perhaps; Q. destroying the declaration of trust to me, and Y. giving another to Z. and he may have the interest on that bond, when paid, from the time of his furnishing the money. But this I mention upon a supposition only that there may be pressing occasions for money. I have still by me between 2 and 300 *l.* and I suppose Q. has collected some small sums from the tenants. I shall be furnished with none from the Chapter, though a great deal is due to me.

" Since I know not what may happen to me, I am determined, while I am possessed of all my rights as

3

Dean,

Dean, to fill up the two vacant places that are without controversy in my sole gift; and, to that end, shall inclose a paper dated at some distance of time, which you may put into the Sub-dean's hands, and desire him to produce when there is proper occasion. You need not let him know it was not written when dated, nor how long you have had it in your custody.

“ Before it is delivered to the Sub-dean, Sam must sign a paper, declaring that he will allow Joseph *half the profit* of the Sacrist's stipend, and board-wages, and perquisites of all kinds; as well of his perquisites as Deputy to Law, as of those which belong to the Sacrist's place, to which Sam is nominated. And in that case Joseph shall give another paper under his hand, to allow Sam the half of his two little places, when he can come into possession of them, and get to be paid for them. For I would have them *equal* in their advantages. Sam indeed is the elder servant; but Joseph has suffered, and is like to suffer most, by a long and close confinement with me. And they are both very honest and very trusty servants; and I hope still to live to be able to do better for them. I doubt not but these nominations will hold good in law, unless the Bill to be brought in shall go backwards, and void every thing I have done as Dean from the time of my commitment, which will be the most extravagant and unreasonable thing that ever was done.

“ On the contrary, I hope, when my friends understand my case (if they will give themselves the trouble of understanding it), they will be able to prevent any bill whatsoever to qualify the Chapter to act without me,

me, especially such an one as may vest in the Subdean and Chapter the rights personally, separately, and solely, belonging to the Dean.

“ Upon re-considering matters, if Z's account of the Narrative be just, I cannot conceive how it is possible to impeach *after* it has been read, i. e. after an open confession made by them that they have nothing under my hand, no oath, no living evidence against me, but inferences only, and conjecture, and probability. They may impeach me indeed *before* it, because the House, not being then acquainted with what they have to produce, may suppose it to be much stronger than it is; but to impeach *after* a declaration made that they have no positive proof, is so absurd, that I could almost flatter myself with the thought that they mean it as a *check* against any attempt that may be made in the House of Lords towards bailing, and not designing it in good earnest. And yet, if that be so, K. is either deceived, or in the secret of deceiving me, thinking he makes a good bargain for me if I am neither impeached nor bailed, but escaping a parliamentary prosecution, and left to the mercy of those who committed me.

“ Thus, you see, I turn things every way, having no solid foundation on which to build my reasonings, for want of the intelligence requisite. Pray desire Z. to get me further and more particular accounts of the Narrative if it be possible, and ask Bromley also (who from henceforward is L.) to get you some account of it before-hand. Nothing is more instructive to me, or enables me better to pass some sort of judgement on
my

my own state, and to guess at what will follow. That short account Z. sent has furnished me with more remarks of that kind than all I heard before from all quarters. Once again adieu."

This letter was inclosed in a blank-cover, on the outside of which the following words were written :

" Desire Z, if he can possibly, to get a particular
" account whether Jack be mentioned in the Report,
" *much* or *at all*, and in what manner. As Y. is to dis-
" course L, [Bromley] about the late villainy of my
" neighbour, so I could wish Q. would discourse V. and
" take his advice upon it, *whether* any thing is to be
" done upon it, and *what*, and *when*."

CCCX. To Lord TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

The Tower, April 10, 1723.

I am thankful for the favour of seeing my daughter any way ; but was in hopes the restraint of an officer's presence in respect of her might have been judged needless, at a time when her husband is allowed to be as often and as long with me as he pleases without witness, especially since we have been parted now for near eight months *, and must soon, if the Bill takes place †, be parted for ever.

My Lord, I have many things to say to her, in relation to herself, her brother ‡, and my little family affairs,

* The Bishop was apprehended Aug. 24, 1722.

† It passed the House of Commons on the 9th of April; and received the royal assent May 27.

‡ See p. 220.

which

which cannot with ease to her or me be said in presence of others; and I dare say your Lordship does not apprehend that the subject of our conversation will be of such a nature as to deserve to be in any degree watched or restrained. She has been the comfort of my life, and I shall leave her with more regret than I leave my preferments (though when I am stripped of them I shall have nothing to support me). Nor is there scarce any loss, besides that of my country, which will touch me so nearly.

Your Lordship, who is known to be a tender father *, will feel what I say; and consider how far it is fit to indulge me in so innocent a request. It is a little thing I ask; but nothing is little that can give any relief to a man in my sad circumstances, which deserve your Lordship's compassion, and I hope will obtain it†. I am, with all respect, your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCXI.

* "This nobleman is beloved by every body that knows him." MACKY.—"I except one!" SWIFT.—"Slow in his parts, rough in his manner, impatient of contradiction; the humane, generous, and benevolent Lord Townshend was inelegant in his language, often perplexed in his arguments; but always spoke sensibly, and with a thorough knowledge of the subject" Dr. MARY.—He retired from public business in 1730, and died in June 1738.

† See in p. 228, some extracts from the public papers; to which what follows may be farther illustrative (and see p. 253):

March 7. Dr. Freind is permitted to attend the Bishop of Rochester in the Tower, his Lordship being ill of the gout.

7. This day is published, the 2d edition of, The Lord Bishop of Rochester vindicated, or the spirit and conduct of several Writers (particularly a certain Chaplain, in his two Letters to the Clergy) concerning the commitment of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Rochester to the Tower of London,

CCCXI. To Mr. POPE.

DEAR SIR,

The Tower, April 10, 1723.

I thank you for all the instances of your friendship both before and since my misfortunes. A little time will compleat them, and separate you and me for ever.

But

don, displayed; wherein the barbarity and injustice with which his Lordship has been treated is set in a true light. In a letter to a gentleman in the country.

12. A double guard is posted at the Bishop of Rochester's apartment in the Tower. And Mrs. Morice, his Lordship's daughter, is very much indisposed.

14. Tuesday last John Freind, Esq. M. D. and Member of Parliament for Launceston, who is allowed to attend the Bishop of Rochester in the Tower as his physician, was taken into the custody of a messenger; and we hear that, having been examined by a Committee of Council, he is committed to the Tower for high treason.

This day is published, in folio, on a fine paper, a specimen of a certain Posthumous History of a late Right Reverend Prelate; price six pence.

16. We were misinformed in our last as to Dr. Freind's commitment to the Tower. He is only confined to his own house in Albemarle street by a messenger, who brought him yesterday to the Cock-pit; where being examined by a Committee of Council, he was remanded to the custody of his messenger.

19. Dr. John Freind, after being examined before a Committee of Lords of the Privy Council on Friday last, was committed close prisoner to his Majesty's Tower of London for high treason: he was carried thither in his own coach, under the care of three messengers; and was lodged in the apartment the Earl of Orrery came out of the day before.

Dr. Hugh Chamberlen is permitted by warrant to visit the Bishop of Rochester, in the room of Dr. Freind.

23. What will be the fate of a certain Prelate, is not yet known; but if his stars are of the same complexion with those that influenced his Sire, he will not be hanged; for, as 'tis storied of him, he was drowned, as he resolutely crossed at a
Ferry

But in what part of the world soever I am, I will live mindful of your sincere kindness to me; and will please myself with the thought, that I still live in your esteem and affection, as much as ever I did; and that no accidents of life, no distance of time or place, will alter you in that respect. It never can me; who have ~~loved~~ and

Ferry on horseback, where two-pence might have saved him. This he thought a fare too much for Charon!

With scorn and indignation fir'd.
He bilk'd the boatman, and expir'd.
'Twas like a Roman! bravely done!
And, if like-minded prove the Son,
He will, for all his holy coat,
Elude the laws, and cut his—throat;
Since Justice has left off to flatter,
And will not trust him near a water.

26. Dr. Yalden, successor to Bp. Atterbury as Preacher at Bridewell, is taken into custody. (He was admitted to bail April 12.)

Sir Constantine Phipps and Wm. Wynne, Esq. Counsellor at law, were admitted to the Bishop of Rochester in the Tower, to advise with him; and to take his instruction as before; as were also Joseph Taylor and William Morice, Esq. (the last his son-in-law) as his solicitors.

April 22. A Petition of the Bishop of Rochester was read, praying, in regard one of his Solicitors is so indisposed as not to be able to assist him, that Mr. Alexius Clayton may be assigned him; and thereupon Mr. Taylor was called in and examined; but not being able to satisfy the House that the other Solicitor (Mr. Morice) was disabled by sickness to assist the said Bishop; the said petition, presented by the Bishop of Chester, was, by leave of the House, withdrawn.—Mr. Morice is in health, and was seen by several Lords walking about the house.

The Bishop of Rochester having given evidence by his servants, that his illness at Bromley, about the 20th of April, 1722, when the three letters he was charged with were dated, was so great, that he had neither the use of hands or feet, and was therefore incapable of writing, or of any actions; and having

and valued you ever since I knew you, and shall not fail to do it when I am not allowed to tell you so; as the case will soon be. Give my faithful services to Dr. Arbuthnot*, and thanks for what he sent me, which
was

took occasion to reflect on the Bishop of St. Asaph for reporting that he had received a letter from him at that time, and telling the Bishop of Carlisle so: That aforementioned Prelate, to justify himself and the truth, declared he did receive the said letter from Bromley, of the Bishop's own hand-writing, by one Grant, one of his servants; that the said letter related to the election of the King's scholars at Westminster; and that the said Grant carried back an answer to Bromley.

* Some hints, probably, towards his defence.—“Tell “Dr. Arbuthnot,” says Pope in a letter to Gay, “that even “pigeon-pies and hogs-puddings are thought dangerous by “our governors; for those that have been sent to the Bishop “of Rochester are opened, and prophanely pryed into at the “Tower. It is the first time that dead pigeons have been “suspected of carrying intelligence. To be serious, you and “Mr. Congreve and the Doctor will be sensible of my concern and surprize at his commitment, whose welfare is as “much my concern as any friend's I have. I think myself “a most unfortunate wretch; I no sooner love, and upon “knowledge fix my esteem to any man, but he either dies “like Mr. Craggs, or is sent to imprisonment like the “Bishop. God send him as well as I wish him, manifest “him to be as innocent as I believe him, and make all his “enemies know him as well as I do, that they may think of “him as well!”—A few extracts from a letter on this occasion by Dean Swift (who had been passing the summer *à la bagatelle* in the North of Ireland) may perhaps be not unacceptable: “Strange revolutions since I left you: a Bishop of “my old acquaintance in the Tower for treason; and a “Doctor of my new acquaintance [Dr. Bolton] made a “Bishop. . . . I escaped hanging very narrowly a month ago; “for a letter from Preston directed to me was opened in the “Post-office, and sealed again in a very slovenly manner; “when Manley found it only contained a request from a “poor curate. This hath determined me against writing
“treason.

was much to the purpose, if any thing can be said to be to the purpose in a case that is already determined. Let him know my defence will be such, that neither my friends need blush for me, nor will my enemies have great occasion of triumph, though sure of the victory. I shall want his advice before I go abroad, in many things. But I question whether I shall be permitted to see him, or any body but such as are absolutely necessary towards the dispatch of my private affairs. If so, God bless you both! and may no part of the ill fortune that attends me ever pursue either of you! I know not but I may call upon you at my hearing*, to say somewhat about my way
of

" treason. . . . It is said that Kelly the parson is admitted
" to Kelly the squire; and that they are cooking up a disco-
" very between them, for the improvement of the hempen
" manufacture. It is reckoned that the best trade in London
" this winter will be that of an evidence. As much as I
" hate the Tories, I cannot but pity them as fools. Some
" think likewise, that the Pretender ought to have his choice
" of two caps; a red cap or a fool's cap. It is a wonderful
" thing to see the Tories provoking his present Majesty;
" whose clemency, mercy, and forgiving temper, have been
" so signal, so extraordinary, so more than humane, during
" the whole course of this reign; which plainly appears, not
" only from his own speeches and declarations, but also from
" a most ingenious pamphlet just come over, relating to the
" wicked Bishop of Rochester." Dr. Swift to Robert Cope, Esq.

* He did call upon him: though to very little purpose. See p. 52.—" At his trial he had produced Mr. Pope as an
" evidence in his favour, to speak to his manner of life and
" conversation: and when he took his last leave of him, he
" would allow him to say his sentence was just, if he ever
" found he had any concern with the Pretender's family in
" his exile. But notwithstanding this, as Bishop Warbur-
" ton informs us, Mr. Pope was convinced, before the
" Bishop's death, that during his banishment he was in the in-
" trigues of the Pretender. It was most excellent advice which

of spending my time at the Deanry, which did not seem calculated towards managing plots and conspiracies. But of that I shall consider.—You and I have spent many hours together upon much pleasanter subjects; and, that I may preserve the old custom, I shall not part with you now till I have closed this letter with three lines of Milton, which you will, I know, readily and not without some degree of concern apply to your ever affectionate, &c.

FR. ROFFEN.

“ Some natural tears he dropt, but wip'd them soon :

“ The world was all before him, where to chuse

“ His place of rest, and Providence his Guide.”

CCCXII. To the Bishop of ROCHESTER.

April 20, 1723.

IT is not possible to express what I think, and what I feel; only this, that I have thought and felt for nothing but you, for some time past, and shall think of nothing so long for the time to come. The greatest comfort I had was an intention (which I would have made prac-

“ Mr. Pope gave him in some of his parting letters. And it is
 “ much to be lamented, that this advice was no better fol-
 “ lowed, that such talents and faculties were no better em-
 “ ployed, and that he was still dealing in politics, instead of
 “ writing some work of genius and learning, of which he
 “ was very capable. He wrote only two or three little pieces,
 “ his essay on the character of *lâpis* in Virgil; his Vindica-
 “ tion of Dr. Aldrich, Dr. Smalridge, and himself, from
 “ the charge of interpolating Lord Clarendon's History; and
 “ little or nothing besides, but a few criticisms on some
 “ French Authors. For though he would never venture to
 “ talk or converse in French, yet, as Mons. Rollin and Thi-
 “ riot, to whom Voltaire addressed his Letters on the English
 “ nation, have assured us, he was as able a Critic in the lan-
 “ guage as any Frenchman.” See vol. IV. pp. 422. 448.

ticable) to have attended you in your journey, to which I had brought that person * to consent, who only could have hindered me by a tie which, though it may be more tender, I do not think more strong than that of friendship. But I fear there will be no way left me to tell you this great truth, that I remember you, that I love you, that I am grateful to you, that I entirely esteem and value you: no way but that one, which needs no open warrant to authorize it, or secret conveyance to secure it; which no bills can preclude, and no Kings prevent; a way that can reach to any part of the world where you may be, where the very whisper or even the wish of a friend must not be heard, or even suspected: by this way, I dare tell my esteem and affection of you, to your enemies in the gates; and you, and they, and their sons, may hear of it.

You prove yourself, my Lord, to know me for the friend I am; in judging that the manner of your defence, and your reputation by it, is a point of the highest concern to me; and assuring me it shall be such, that none

* The mother of Mr. Pope, with whom Bp. Atterbury appears to have been no small favourite. When he was for the last time at Twickenham, Mr. Pope tells Mr. Digby, "There are certain old people who take up all my time, and will hardly allow me to keep any other company. They were introduced here by a man of their own sort, who has made me perfectly rude to all my contemporaries, and will not so much as suffer me to look upon them. The person I complain of is the Bishop of Rochester. Yet he allows me (from something he has heard of your character and that of your family, as if you were of the old sect of Moralists) to write three or four sides of paper to you, and to tell you (what these sort of people never tell but with truth and religious sincerity) that I am, and ever will be, yours, &c."

of your friends shall blush for you. Let me further prompt you to do yourself the best and most lasting justice: the instruments of your fame to posterity will be in your hands. May it not be, that Providence has appointed you to some great and useful work, and calls you to it this severe way? you may more eminently and more effectually serve the publick even now, than in the stations you have so honourably filled. Think of Tully, Bacon, and Clarendon*: is it not the latter, the disgraced part of their lives, which you most envy, and which you would choose to have lived?

I am tenderly sensible of the wish you express, that no part of your misfortune may pursue me. But God knows I am every day less and less fond of my native country (so torn as it is by Party-rage), and begin to consider a friend in exile as a friend in death; one gone before, where I am not unwilling nor unprepared to follow after; and where (however various or uncertain the roads and voyages of another world may be) I cannot but entertain a pleasing hope that we may meet again.

I faithfully assure you, that in the mean time there is no one, living or dead, of whom I shall think oftener or better than of you. I shall look upon you as in a state between both, in which you will have from me all the passions and warm wishes that can attend the living, and all the respect and tender sense of loss that we feel for the dead. And I shall ever depend upon your con-

* Clarendon indeed wrote his best works in his banishment; but the best of Bacon's were written before his disgrace; and the best of Tully's after his return from exile.

WARBURTON.

stant

stant friendship, kind memory, and good offices, though I were never to see or hear the effects of them: like the trust we have in benevolent spirits, who, though we never see or hear them, we think are constantly serving us, and praying for us.

Whenever I am wishing to write to you, I shall conclude you are intentionally doing so to me. And every time that I think of you, I will believe you are thinking of me. I never shall suffer to be forgotten (nay to be but faintly remembered) the honour, the pleasure, the pride I must ever have, in reflecting how frequently you have delighted me, how kindly you have distinguished me, how cordially you have advised me! In conversation *, in study, I shall always want you and wish for you: in my most lively and in my most thoughtful hours, I shall equally bear about me the impressions of you; and perhaps it will not be in this life only, that I shall have cause to remember and acknowledge the friendship of the Bishop of Rochester †. I am, &c.

A. POPE.

* "How pleasing Atterbury's softer hour!

"How thin'd the soul, unconquer'd in the Tower!"
are the words of Pope, when describing a number of his select friends; and among these, as Dr. Warton observes, Bp. Atterbury was his chief intimate.

"Ev'n mitred Rochester would nod the head,"

Pope elsewhere says, in words characteristic of the very gesture our Bishop used when he was pleased.

† On this head, see, *particularly*, p. 271.

CCCXIII. Copy of a Warrant for the Bishop of Rochester's Relations to have access to his Lordship: dated May 18, 1723.

CHARLES Lord Viscount TOWNSHEND, Baron of Lynr Regis, one of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and Principal Secretary of State, &c.

THESE are, in his Majesty's name, to authorize and require you to permit and suffer the relations of the Bishop of Rochester, a prisoner in your custody, to have access to his Lordship at all convenient hours *; and

* See the Bishop's letter to Lord Townshend, p. 240; which probably produced this extended order. The newspapers of the month speak thus:

May 4. Next Monday the Bishop of Rochester is to make his defence, by himself and Counsel, against the bill now depending for inflicting on him certain pains and penalties; accordingly he is then to be brought to the bar of the House of Lords, where, for the more easy standing of his Lordship and Counsel, a convenient place is fitted up, and covered with scarlet cloth.

6. Archibald Hutcheson, John Walter, and Thomas Chapman, Esqrs. members of the House of Commons, have leave to attend, in order to be examined as witnesses for the Bishop of Rochester.

7. Yesterday about eleven o'clock the Bishop of Rochester was carried from the Tower, under a guard, in an open chariot, to Westminster-Hall, and from thence in a chair through the Court of Requests and Painted Chamber to the House of Lords; and at night he was remanded to the Tower, from whence he was carried down again this day. He was yesterday disturbed, in his passage to the House, by the clamours and insults of the mob; but, upon application to the Peers for safety and protection, strict orders were given to seize and secure all who should be guilty of such inhumanity, and a guard was appointed to defend his person.

and also such other persons as may have business with his Lordship on account of his private affairs; and for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given at
Whitehall,

11. The House of Peers have sat every day this week, upon the affairs of the Bishop of Rochester, who has been each morning guarded from the Tower in Colonel Williamson the Deputy Governor's chariot, who also was with him. The Counsel for the Bill are Mr. Reeves and Mr. Wear; and for the Bishop Sir Constantine Phipps and Mr. Wynne.

The Lord Bishop of Rochester was again carried up this day, which is the sixth time, from the Tower to the Bar of the House of Lords; and it is thought his affairs will not be concluded till Monday or Tuesday.

On Thursday night, about eleven, as the Bishop returned to the Tower, the mob was very great and troublesome in Fleet Street; and a gentleman, who was among them, was dangerously wounded with a bayonet by one of the guards, and carried to Mr. Ridout, a surgeon in Salisbury Court.

Col. Williamson caused several rude fellows to be apprehended; seven whereof were afterwards committed to the Work-house, for insulting the Bishop.

13. This week the Right Honourable the Earl of Lincoln visited the Bishop of Rochester in his apartment, as also most of the other State Prisoners in the Tower.

'Tis said, that the Bishop of Rochester, after being degraded and deprived of his benefices, is to transport himself, and never to return to any of his Majesty's dominions, on pain of felony; that such who correspond with him from hence will also be deemed guilty of felony; and that the Crown will also be disabled from pardoning him.

On Saturday last the Bishop of Rochester was carried to the House of Lords, where he made a speech for two hours together, in his own defence, against the Bill now depending for his suffering pains and penalties; and was remanded to the Tower about five in the evening, attended not only by his guard, but several volunteers both Whigs and Tories, between whom, near Temple Bar, there happened a small skirmish, to the disadvantage of the latter. They rallied again in Cheapside, and were again dispersed. And yesterday his Lordship was again, for the last time, carried to the House of Lords, to hear the King's Counsel's reply to his Lordship's defence; and being remanded about ten, considerable
numbers

Whitehall, the 18th day of May, 1723, in the ninth year of his Majesty's reign.

TOWNSHEND.

To the Right Honourable HENRY Earl of LINCOLN,
Constable of his Majesty's Tower of London; and,
in his absence, to the Lieutenant of his Majesty's said
Tower, or his Deputy †.

numbers of both the parties above-mentioned met, and engaged in a pitched battle, which lasted with great violence for some time, but ended at last in the utter rout and confusion of those who love the Bishop so well that they would willingly introduce the Pope to defend and support him; so that High Church is no more; and it is to be hoped it will be a warning to them, how they attempt again to force Nature to rebel against Principle.

† “ After the Westminster election in 1723 was over, some
“ of the King's Scholars thought it a proper piece of respect
“ to wait on their late Dean in the Tower, as every body
“ had then free admittance, to see and take leave of him:
“ and, among other things which he said to them, he applied to himself those lines of Milton, as he did likewise
“ in a letter to Mr. Pope:

“ The world is all before me, where to choose

“ My place of rest, and Providence my guide.”

“ There was something august and awful too in the Westminster elections; three such great men presiding, Bishop Atterbury as Dean of Westminster, Bishop Smalridge as Dean of Christ Church, and Dr. Bentley as Master of Trinity college: and ‘as iron sharpens iron,’ so these three, by their wit and learning, and liberal conversation, whetted and sharpened one another.” Bp. NEWTON.

CCCXIV. From Mr. POPE.

[May,] 1723-

ONCE more I write to you as I promised, and this once, I fear, will be the last * ! The curtain will soon be drawn between my friend and me, and nothing left but to wish you a long good night †. May you enjoy
a state

* One more very affecting letter will be found in p. 271. It is without a date, but must have been written, I apprehend, in the very beginning of June.—In Mr. Pope's Letters to a Lady, June 3, 1723, he says, "I am at present under the
"afflicting circumstance of taking my last leave of one of
"the truest friends I ever had, and one of the greatest men
"in all polite learning, as well as the most agreeable compa-
"nion, this nation ever had."—On the subject of friendship, Mr. Pope had declared, in a former letter, "I have ever
"believed this as a sacred maxim, that the most ingenious
"natures are the most sincere; and the most knowing and
"sensible minds made the best friends. Of all those that I
"have thought it the felicity of my life to know, I have
"ever found the most distinguished capacity, the most distin-
"guished in morality; and those the most to be depended on,
"whom one esteemed so much as to desire they should be so."

† The news-papers of the times (see pp. 228. 241.) proceed thus with their reports:

18. It is talked that the Bishop of Rochester will go to Utrecht; that he is determined in the choice of that place for his residence, because there is an English Chapel there, in conformity with the Church of England.

We hear the Bill for inflicting pains and penalties on Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester is ready for his Majesty's Royal assent; and it is said, that the place where his Lordship will make his first retreat to will be Brussels, and that proper dispositions are making for that purpose; and a certain gentleman, considerably interested in his Lordship's family, is about to dispose of a considerable station which he now holds, to attend his Lordship to his exile.

20. The Bishop of Rochester hath had his seals delivered back to him, which were seized, by order of the Government, to compare with the impressions made on several treasonable letters

a state of repose in this life, not unlike that sleep of the soul which some have believed is to succeed it, where we lie utterly forgetful of that world from which we are gone, and ripening for that to which we are to go! If you retain any memory of the past, let it only image to you what has pleased you best; sometimes present a dream * of an absent friend, or bring you back an agreeable conversation. But, upon the whole, I hope you will think less of the time past than of the future; as the former has been less kind to you than the latter infallibly will be. Do not envy the world your Studies; they will tend to the benefit of men against whom you can have no complaint, I mean of all Posterity: and perhaps, at your time of life, nothing else is worth

letters in fictitious names sent beyond sea; and we hear the experiment fully answered the expectation.

21. The Bishop of Rochester's son, Mr. Morice, High Bailiff of Westminster, sells his place for 2500*l.* and goes with his father-in-law to live abroad.

23. We are informed that the Bishop of Rochester designs to go to Paris; and that Mr. Morice and his wife, daughter to his Lordship, will go with him, and have a sign-manual.

The Bishop of Chester, Lord Trevor, and Mr. Morice, this day, visited the Bishop in the Tower.

25. We hear, that Dr. Egerton and Dr. Hare have both declined accepting the Bishoprick of Rochester and Deanry of Westminster; and it is again talked that the same will be given to Dr. Bradford, the present Bishop of Carlisle.

Several persons, who hold lands of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, have renewed their leases; the Bill against the Bishop of Rochester not depriving him till June 1.

* "Life's vain amusements, amidst which we dwell;

"Not weigh'd, or understood, by the grim God of hell!

"said a Heathen poet, as he is translated by a Christian Bishop,

"who has first by his exhortations, and since by his exam-

"ple, taught me to think as becomes a reasonable creature

"—but he is gone!" Pope to Mr. Blount, June 27, 1723.

your

your cave. What is every year of a wise man's life but a censure or critique on the past? Those whose date is the shortest, live long enough to laugh at one half of it: the boy despises the infant, the man the boy, the philosopher both, and the Christian all. You may now begin to think your manhood was too much a puerility; and you will never suffer your age to be but a second infancy. The toys and baubles of your childhood are hardly now more below you, than those toys of our riper and of our declining years, the drums and rattles of Ambition, and the dirt and bubbles of Avarice. At this time, when you are cut off from a little Society, and made a citizen of the world at large, you should bend your talents, not to serve a Party, or a few, but all mankind. Your Genius should mount above that mist in which its participation and neighbourhood with earth long involved it; to shine abroad and to Heaven, ought to be the business and the glory of your present situation. Remember it was at such a time, that the greatest lights of Antiquity dazzled and blazed the most, in their retreat, in their exile, or in their death: but why do I talk of dazzling or blazing? it was then that they did good, that they gave light, and that they became Guides to mankind *.

Those

* The peculiarities and natural tempers of men eminent for their learning or great qualities being generally interesting, what follows may perhaps be thought worthy notice.

Bp. Atterbury, conversing with Dr. Bentley on his contest with the Bishop of Ely, in regard to his visitatorial power over Trinity College, seemed to think that the Doctor would probably lose his cause in consequence of an old writing that had been discovered, bearing date in James the First's time. "I know very well what your Lordship means," replied the Doctor: "it bears date, I think, *anno tertio Jacobi primi*; it
" would

Those aims alone are worthy of spirits truly great, and such I therefore hope will be yours. Resentment "would have more weight with your Lordship, if it were dated *anno primo Jacobi tertii*."

The same Prelate, who bore the Doctor no good-will for his attack on Mr. Boyle and all the Wits of Christ Church, having Bentley and Pope both at dinner with him, insisted on knowing what opinion the Doctor entertained of the English Homer. He for some time eluded the question; but, at last, being urged to speak out, he said, "The verses are good verses; but the work is not Homer, it is Spondanus." To this provocation * the modern Aristarchus owed his place in the fourth book of the Dunciad; at which his son, Dr. Thomas Bentley, was so incensed, that he sent the Poet a challenge. Pope, communicating this to some of his friends, officers in the army, two or three of them went to the Hero's lodgings, and, after expostulating on the absurdity of sending a challenge to a man who, on account of his figure, ought not to accept it, gave the Doctor his choice of any one of them for an antagonist as the Poet's proxy. On his declining this, they insisted on his asking Mr. Pope's pardon; to which he submitted.

"In a collection of letters lately published by Mr. Duncombe, it is affirmed, on the authority of Elijah Fenton, that Atterbury, speaking of Pope, said, there was *Mens curva in corpore curvo*. This sentiment seems utterly inconsistent with the warm friendship supposed to subsist between these two celebrated men. But Dr. Herring, in vol. II. p. 104, says, 'If Atterbury was not worse used than any honest man in the world ever was, there were strong contradictions between his public and private character.'"

DR. WARTON.

"Fenton," says the late Lord Corke his pupil, "translated double the number of books in the *Odyssey* † that Pope has owned. His reward was a trifle, an arrant trifle. He has even told me, that he thought Pope feared him more than he loved him: he had no opinion of Pope's heart, and declared him, in the words of Bishop Atterbury, *Mens curva*, &c. (as above)." Yet Pope, in a letter to Gay, says, "he esteemed Fenton almost as many years as he had esteemed" Gay; and Atterbury assures Pope, that "he had loved and valued him ever since he knew him." &c. &c.—Such is the sincerity of the Witty and the Great!

* See *Cent. Mag.* 1773, p. 499; and 1781, pp. 272, 359.

† *Ibid.* 1781, p. 359.

indeed may remain, perhaps cannot be quite extinguished, in the noblest minds; but Revenge never will harbour there: higher principles than those of the first, and better principles than those of the latter, will infallibly influence men whose thoughts and whose hearts are enlarged, and cause them to prefer the whole to any part of mankind, especially to so small a part as one's single self.

Believe me, my Lord, I look upon you as a spirit entered into another life *, as one just upon the edge of Immortality; where the passions and affections must be much more exalted, and where you ought to despise all little views, and all mean retrospects †. Nothing

* The Bishop of Rochester went into exile the month following, and continued in it till his death, which happened at Paris, Feb. 15, 1731-2. POPE.

When the Bishop landed at Calais, having been informed that Lord Bolingbroke, who after the rising of the Parliament had received the King's pardon, was arrived at the same place on his return to England, he said, with an air of pleasantry, "Then I am exchanged!" And it was, in the opinion of Pope on the same subject, "a sign of the nation's being curstly afraid of being over-run with too much politeness, when it could not regain one great man but at the expence of another." It would require a nice judgement to determine, whether the nation, in a political view, was benefited by this exchange; but if the question be considered in a literary or religious view, the balance was, by the return of the noble Lord, greatly against us. The Prelate was little inferior to the Peer with respect to abilities, and certainly superior to him in learning; and, except when he deviated into subjects foreign to his profession, he rarely converted his natural and acquired knowledge to an improper use, and very frequently employed his masterly pen in vindicating the doctrines, and enforcing the practice of the duties, of Christianity.

† Notwithstanding this, Mr. Pope was convinced, before the Bishop's death, that during his banishment he was in the intrigues of the Pretender; though, when he took his last leave of Mr. Pope, he told him, "he would allow him to say his sentence was just, if he ever found he had any concerns with that family in exile." WAREBURY. See p. 285.

is worth your looking back ; and therefore look forward, and make (as you can) the world look after you. But take care that it be not with pity, but with esteem and admiration.

I am, with the greatest sincerity, and passion for your fame as well as happiness, your, &c. A. POPE.

CCCXV. An Act to inflict Pains and Penalties on FRANCIS Lord Bishop of ROCHESTER, which received the Royal Assent * May 27, 1723, 9 George I.

WHEREAS in the years one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one, and one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two, a detestable and horrid conspiracy was formed and carried on by divers traitors, for invading your Majesty's kingdoms with foreign forces, for raising an insurrection and rebellion against your Majesty, for seizing the Tower and City of London, and for laying violent hands upon your Majesty's most sacred person, and upon his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in order to subvert our present happy Establishment in Church and State, by placing a Popish

* On this head the news-papers report thus :

28. Yesterday his Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave his Royal Assent to the Bill for inflicting pains and penalties on the Bishop of Rochester ; by which the Bishop is deprived by the first of June, and banished before the 25th.

Some days ago a gentleman coming to the Tower, and asking at a distance how the Bishop of Rochester did, he was told, *Very well.* The gentleman being asked in return how he did, his answer was *Very well.* Upon which the Bishop enquired of him, how such a person did ; the reply was, *Very well.* Which made his Lordship smile, and ask whether his friend was *very well* in all respects.

31. The late Bishop of Rochester's household goods at Bromley are now exposing to sale.

Pretender on your throne : And whereas, for the better concealing and effecting the said conspiracy, divers treasonable correspondences were, within the time aforesaid, carried on by letters written in cyphers, cant words, and fictitious names ; which conspiracy, had it not been disappointed by the goodness of Almighty God, would have deprived your Majesty's kingdoms of the enjoyment of their religion, laws, and liberties, involved them in blood and ruin, and subjected your people to the bondage and oppression of Romish superstition and arbitrary power ; for which execrable treason Christopher Layer hath been indicted, tried, convicted, and attainted : And whereas Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, notwithstanding the many solemn assurances by him given of his faith and allegiance to your Majesty, by taking the oaths by law appointed to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy ; which oaths he had likewise taken at sundry times during the respective reigns of their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary, and of her late Majesty Queen Anne ; and notwithstanding he had frequently abjured the Pretender ; hath, in direct violation of his said repeated oaths and obligations, and to the great scandal of Religion and his holy function, been deeply concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on the said wicked and detestable conspiracy, and hath been a principal actor therein, by traiterously consulting and corresponding with divers persons, to raise an insurrection and rebellion against your Majesty, within this kingdom, and to procure a foreign force to invade the same, in order to depose your Majesty, and place the Pretender on your throne ; and by traiterously corre-

sponding with the said Pretender, and persons employed by him, knowing them to be so employed : Therefore, to manifest our just abhorrence of so wicked and abominable a conspiracy, and our zeal and tender regard for the preservation of your Majesty's person and government, and of the Protestant succession in your Majesty's royal family, the solid foundations of our present happiness and future hopes ; and to the end that no conspirator may, by any subtil contrivance or practice whatsoever, escape punishment, and that all others may by the justice of Parliament be for ever hereafter deterred from engaging in any traiterous conspiracies or attempts : We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in parliament assembled, do humbly beseech your Majesty, that it may be enacted ; and be it enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, from and after the first day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three, shall be, and is hereby, to all intents and purposes, deprived of all and singular his offices, dignities, promotions, and benefices ecclesiastical whatsoever ; and that the same, and every of them, shall from thenceforth be actually void, as if he were naturally dead ; and that the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester shall from thenceforth for ever be disabled, and rendered incapable of and from taking, holding, or enjoying any office, dignity, promotion, benefice, or employment, within

within this realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions, and also of and from using or exercising any office, function, authority, or power ecclesiastical or spiritual whatsoever, and shall and do suffer perpetual exile, and be for ever banished this realm, and all other his Majesty's dominions, and shall depart out of the same on or before the five and twentieth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three; and that if the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester shall return into, or be found within this realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions, at any time after the said five and twentieth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three, he the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer and forfeit as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy, and shall be utterly incapable of any pardon from his Majesty, his heirs or successors.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person and persons, who shall, from and after the said five and twentieth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three, be aiding or assisting to the return of the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester into this realm, or any other of his Majesty's dominions, or shall harbour or conceal him within the same, or any of them, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer and forfeit as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any of the subjects of his Majesty, his heirs or successors, except such persons as shall be licensed for that purpose by his Majesty, his heirs or successors, under his or their sign manual, shall, from and after the said five and twentieth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three, within this realm or without, hold, entertain, or keep any intelligence or correspondence in person, or by letters, messages, or otherwise, with the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, or with any person or persons employed by him, knowing such person or persons to be so employed, such person so offending, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer and forfeit as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy.

And be it further enacted, that, if any offence against this Act shall be committed out of this realm, the same shall or may be alledged, laid, enquired of, and tried, in any county within Great Britain *.

* Among the original papers whence I have copied the greater part of the letters to Bp. Trelawny, is a transcript from the Journals of the House of Peers, containing the protest of the Earl of Stafford and others, on the bill for banishing and disabling the Earl of Clarendon; indorsed, in Atterbury's hand, "Protestation against the bill to banish the Earl of Clarendon, Dec. 12, 1723."

CCCXVI. Licence for Mr. MORICE, with his wife and Mr. HUGHES, to go beyond sea with the Bishop of ROCHESTER; dated June 1, 1723.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS by an act passed the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act to inflict pains and penalties upon Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester;" it is, amongst other things, enacted, "that if any of the subjects of us, our heirs or successors, except such persons as shall be licensed for that purpose by us, our heirs or successors, under our or their sign manual, should, from and after the five and twentieth day of June, 1723, within this realm or without, hold, entertain, or keep any intelligence or correspondence in person, or by letters, messages, or otherwise, with the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, or with any person or persons employed by him, knowing them to be so employed, such person so offending, being thereof lawfully convicted, should be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy," as by the said act may appear: And whereas the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester doth intend, in pursuance of the said act, at or before the time therein limited, to depart out of this our realm, in order to take up his future residence in some foreign country; and William Morice, Esq. and Mary his wife (the only daughter of the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester), being desirous not only to travel with the said Bishop of Rochester, but also to reside with

him for some time, have humbly besought us to grant to them such our leave and licence, as is for that purpose reserved to us to give and grant by the said act of parliament; and the Reverend Bartholomew Hughes being also desirous to travel with the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, and to abide with him for some time, hath humbly requested us to grant him our leave and licence for that purpose; all which premises we have taken into our royal consideration, and have been graciously pleased to condescend thereto: We do, by these presents, give and grant unto the said William Morice and Mary his wife, and to the said Bartholomew Hughes, full liberty, leave, and licence, during our pleasure, to travel with and accompany him, the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, into any parts beyond the seas; and from time to time, during the stay of the said William Morice and Mary his wife, and Bartholomew Hughes, in such parts beyond the seas, upon all lawful occasions, freely to hold, entertain, and keep intelligence and correspondence in person, or by letters, messages, or otherwise, with the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, or with any person or persons employed by him. And we do further, during our pleasure, give and grant our full leave and licence to the said William Morice and Mary his wife, from time to time, after their return, to hold, entertain, and keep intelligence and correspondence with the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, or any person or persons employed by him, touching the necessary and lawful occasions of him the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester. And we do also, during our pleasure, permit,
 license,

license, and allow, all our loving subjects, of what degree, name, title, or quality soever, upon all lawful occasions, to hold, entertain, and keep intelligence and correspondence with the said William Morice and Mary his wife, and Bartholomew Hughes, as well during the stay of the said William Morice and Mary his wife, and Bartholomew Hughes, in such foreign parts or places with the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, as after their return to our said kingdom of Great Britain; and we do further give and grant to the said William Morice and Mary his wife full liberty, leave, and licence, to take along with them three servants, to whom we give full licence and liberty to go, abide, and return, as to them shall seem meet; and our subjects are also, upon all lawful occasions, hereby permitted to hold correspondence with any of the said servants, so as the names of such servants, before they enter upon such journey or voyage, be delivered to one of our Principal Secretaries of State, or to one of his Under Secretaries, and be by him indorsed on the back of this our sign manual, as the servants intended for the service of the said William Morice and Mary his wife, by these presents. Given under our sign manual, at our court at St. James's, the first day of June, 1723, in the ninth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command. TOWNSHEND.

Servants appointed to attend William Morice, Esq. and Mary his wife, in pursuance of this licence :

ANNE GOULD,

JAMES JOHNSON, and

WILLIAM MAYNWARING FULMAN.

Indorsed by me, CH. DELAFAYE.

CCCXVII.

CCCXVII. Licence for the Bishop of ROCHESTER'S
Servants to attend him beyond Sea; dated June 1,
1723.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS by an act passed in the last session,
&c. [as in p. 263.] And whereas the said
Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester doth intend, in pur-
suance of the said act, and at or before the time thereby
limited, to depart out of this our realm, in order to
take up his future residence in some foreign country;
but is desirous that he may have the liberty to take with
him five servants; and for that purpose hath humbly
applied to us, that such servants may have our licence
to go, abide, and return, as to them shall seem meet:
And whereas Thomas Salkeld and Elizabeth his wife,
Joseph Beauchamp, Thomas Davies, and Thomas Grant,
being desirous to serve the said Francis Lord Bishop of
Rochester as his servants, have humbly besought us to
grant to them our leave and licence for that purpose,
that they may not incur, or be liable unto, any of the
punishments contained in the said act; all which we have
taken into our royal consideration: We do, by these
presents, give and grant unto the said Thomas Salkeld
and Elizabeth his wife, Joseph Beauchamp, Thomas
Davies, and Thomas Grant, full liberty, leave, and
licence, during our pleasure, to travel with and attend
him the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, into
any parts beyond the seas, as his servants, and to abide
and continue in his service as to them shall seem meet:
and

and in like manner to return to our kingdom of Great Britain, after they shall be discharged from the service of the said Bishop of Rochester, and shall be minded to return to our said kingdom; and, from time to time, during their continuance in the service of the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, freely to hold, entertain, and keep intelligence and correspondence with the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, as his servants: And we do also, during our pleasure, permit, license, and allow, all our loving subjects, of what degree soever, to hold, entertain, and keep, upon their necessary and lawful occasions, intelligence and correspondence with the said Thomas Salkeld and Elizabeth his wife, Joseph Beauchamp, Thomas Davies, and Thomas Grant, as well during their continuance in the service of the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, as after their or any of their return to our kingdom of Great Britain, as fully and amply as they might or could have done, in case the said act had not been made. Given under our sign manual, at our court at St. James's, the first day of June *, 1723, in the ninth year of our reign.

By His Majesty's command.

TOWNSHEND.

CCCXVIII.

* June 1. The late Bishop of Rochester has renewed all the leases in his diocese, and thereby raised upwards of 800*l.* Part of his goods were sold for 400*l.* and the rest were brought to the Deanry, to be sold with his goods there. He has an estate in land in Hampshire or Berkshire, but of what value we cannot be certain; some say 150*l.* *per ann.* and others but 80*l.* A yacht is ordered, by the Government, to attend him at the Tower from the 25th instant, to carry him where he thinks fit.

CCCXVIII. Warrant from the Commissioners of the Navy, for a Vessel to carry the Bishop of ROCHESTER's Baggage, &c. on board the Aldborough, in Long Reach; dated June 5, 1723.

By the Principal Officers and Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy.

HIS Majesty's pleasure having been signified to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, by one of his Principal Secretaries of

fit. His Lordship, we are told, will not be discharged from the Tower, till he purposes to leave the kingdom.

This day the Bishop of Rochester was deprived of all his dignities and ecclesiastical benefices whatsoever; and by the 25th of this instant he is to depart this realm, and all other his Majesty's dominions, and to remain in perpetual exile.

We hear several thousand pounds have been raised by way of contribution, and presented to this Gentleman by some persons of distinction. Considerable collections are still carrying on for him among his party; and it is said the Dutchess of Buckingham, among others, has sent him 1000*l*.

His Majesty has been pleased to order a Congé d'Elire to pass the seals, for electing Dr. Samuel Bradford, Lord Bishop of Carlisle, into the See of Rochester.

His Majesty has likewise been pleased to appoint the said Lord Bishop of Carlisle to be Dean of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter's Church of Westminster.

4. The Bishop of Rochester, as we are credibly informed, will not be permitted to go to the Deanry of Westminster; but is to continue at his apartment in the Tower till the time of his embarkation, which will be in a fortnight hence.

Whereas it was advertised in the Daily Courant and Daily Post of Friday last, that the goods of the Right Rev. Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, at the Deanry at Westminster, were

of State, that the late Bishop of Rochester, with his servants and baggage, together with Mr. Morice his son-

were to be sold by auction; this is to give notice that the sale will begin on Saturday next the 8th instant.

6. This day is published, the Effigies of the Right Reverend Dr. Francis Atterbury, Lord Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, finely engraven from an original Painting of Sir Godfrey Kneller, now in the hands of Mr. Morice, his Lordship's son-in-law; engraven by Vander-gucht.

We hear that Bishop Atterbury will go on board the yacht that waits for him in less than a fortnight, in order to cross over the Maes, he designing to make his residence at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the Electorate of Cologne, and not at Paris, as was said in some of the news-papers.

To be sold by Auction, The Household Goods, Pictures &c. of the Bishop of Rochester, at the Deanry at Westminster, on Saturday next, the 8th instant, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and to continue each day at the same hour till all are sold. Catalogues to be had this day at the place of sale, of Mr. Ivory at the two white spikes the foot of the pavement in St. Martin's-Lane, and at Mr. Say's in Racquet Court, Fleet-street. The goods to be viewed this day, tomorrow, and Saturday till the Sale begins. N. B. A Coach and Harness, and four Horses, to be sold.

8. Last Thursday, one of his Majesty's messengers was sent to the Tower, with a letter to the late Bishop of Rochester, signifying to him, that the Government had ordered a yacht to be ready to transport him. Mr. Morice, High-Bailiff of Westminster, has obtained leave for himself and Spouse to accompany him abroad, and to return within six months; and this day begins the sale of his late Lordship's Goods at the Deanry of Westminster.

A warrant is signed at the Secretary's office, allowing Mr. Morice and his wife, with five other persons as servants, and one Mr. Hughes, to accompany the late Lord Bishop of Rochester beyond sea, but they are to stay only for a certain time. The said Mr. Hughes is a Clergyman, whom the said Bishop presented to a living of 200 l. *per ann.* that became vacant a few days before the act for his deprivation.

This day about noon began the sale of the late Bishop of Rochester's goods, pictures, &c. at the Deanry of Westminster,

son-in-law, his wife, and servants, and Mr. Hughes a clergyman, shall be transported out of his Majesty's dominions by one of his ships of war; and their Lordships having ordered his Majesty's ship the Aldborough, from the Buoy of the Nore, for that service; and they being informed, by a messenger they sent to the Bishop yesterday, that the time of his departure for Ostend will be Monday next come se'nnight: These are, in pursuance of an order from their Lordships, of this day's date, to direct and require you to order such one of the vessels belonging to the ordinary at Deptford or Woolwich, as you shall judge most proper, to be timely ready at Tower Wharf, to receive and carry on board the aforesaid ship Aldborough, in Long Reach, the goods and necessaries of the Bishop, and those who are to accompany him. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Dated at the Navy Office, the 5th of June, 1723.

T. HOLMES.

JAMES MIGHELL,

J. FAWLER,

WM. CLEVELAND.

To the respective Officers of his Majesty's Yards at Deptford or Woolwich.

ster, which, being very considerable in quantity and quality, will raise him a large sum of money. 'Tis observed there is a fondness in some sort of people to purchase these goods at any rate.

We hear the Lord Bishop of Rochester will embark tomorrow sevensnight; and that the Aldborough man of war lying in Long Reach is to carry him to Ostend, and that he will go off with above 30,000*l*. The sale of the goods at the Deanry amounts already to 800*l*.

13. It is said the Captain will be ordered to carry him cross the Channel to such port as he shall think proper; which it is supposed will be Ostend.

CCCXIX.

CCCXIX. From Mr. POPE.

MY LORD,

[June, 1723.]

WHILE yet I can write to you, I must, I will correspond with you, till the very moment * it is felony; and when I can no longer write to you, I will write of you †. To tell you that my heart is full of
your

* That moment took place on the 25th of June 1723.

† I had prepared a note to be inserted in this place; of which my readers will have no cause to regret the loss, when it is so much better supplied by the following letter from a late valuable friend, which he kindly permitted me to print.

"DEAR SIR,

South Molton, Nov. 12, 1782.

"THE following Anecdote was first communicated to the publick by the late Dr. Maty, on the credit of Lord Chesterfield: "I went," said Lord Chesterfield, "to Mr. Pope, one morning, at Twickenham, and found a large folio Bible, with gilt clasps, lying before him upon his table; and, as I knew his way of thinking upon that book, I asked him, jocosely, if he was going to write an answer to it? It is a present," said he, "or rather a legacy, from my old friend the Bishop of Rochester. I went to take my leave of him yesterday in the Tower, where I saw this Bible upon his table. After the first compliments, the Bishop said to me, My friend Pope, considering your infirmities, and my age and exile, it is not likely that we should ever meet again; and therefore I give you this legacy to remember me by it. Take it home with you; and let me advise you to abide by it."—"Does your Lordship abide by it yourself?"—"I do."—"If you do, my Lord, it is but lately. May I beg to know what new light or arguments have prevailed with you now, to entertain an opinion so contrary to that which you entertained of that book all the former part of your life?"—The Bishop replied, "We have not time to talk of these things; but take home the book; I will abide by it, and I recommend you to do so too, and so God bless you!"

Dr. Warton hath revived this story, which he justly calls an *uncommon* one, in his last "Essay on the Genius and Writ-
ings

your defence, is no more than the worst enemy I have must own: You have really, without a figure, had all the

"ings of Pope." It was indeed *very* uncommon; and I have my reasons for thinking it equally groundless and invidious. Dr. Warton, though he retails the story from "*Maty's Memoirs*," yet candidly acknowledges, that it ought not to be implicitly relied on. That this caution was not unnecessary, will, I apprehend, be sufficiently obvious, from the following comparison between the date of the story itself and Mr. Pope's Letters to the Bishop.

According to Lord Chesterfield's account, this remarkable piece of conversation took place but a *few days before the Bishop went into exile*: and it is insinuated that Mr. Pope, *till that period*, had not even entertained the slightest suspicion of his friend's reverence for the Bible: Nay, it is asserted, that the very recommendation of it from a quarter so unexpected staggered Mr. Pope to such a degree, that, in a mingled vein of raillery and seriousness, he was very eager to know the grounds and reasons of the Bishop's change of sentiment.

Unfortunately for the credit of Lord Chesterfield and his story, there is a letter on record, that was written *nine months* before this pretended dialogue took place, in which Mr. Pope seriously acknowledged the Bishop's piety and generosity, in interesting himself so zealously and affectionately in matters which immediately related to his improvement in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. The passage I refer to is a very remarkable one; and you will find it in a letter, dated July 27, 1722 *. It appears undeniably from this letter, that the Bishop had earnestly recommended to Mr. Pope the study of the Bible; and had softened his zeal with an unusual urbanity and courtesy, in order to avoid the imputation of ill-breeding, and remove all occasion of disgust from a mind so "*tremblingly alive*" as Mr. Pope's. I will transcribe the passage at large. "I ought first to prepare my mind for a better knowledge "*even of good profane writers, especially the moralists, &c.* "before I can be worthy of tasting *that SUPREME of Books,* "and *SUBLIME of all writings*; in WHICH, as in all the intermediate ones, you may (if your friendship and charity "towards me continue so far) *be the best GUIDE* to, yours,
"A. POPE."

* See above, p. 205.

the triumphs that ancient eloquence boasts of. Their consciences and passions have done you right, though their votes have not. You have met with the fate frequent to great and good men, to gain applause, where you are denied justice. Let me take the only occasion I have had in the whole series of your misfortunes to congratulate you, and not you only, but posterity, upon this noble defence. I already see in what lustre *that* innocence is to appear to other ages, which this has overborne and oppressed. I know perfectly well what a share of credit it will be to have appeared on your side, or being called your *friend*. I am far prouder of that word you publicly spake of me, than of any thing I have ever yet heard of myself during my whole life. Thanks be to God, that I, a private man, concerned in

The last letter of Mr. Pope to the Bishop, previous to his going into exile, was written (as you observe p. 253) very early in June, 1723. It must have been about this time that Pope paid his farewell visit to the Bishop in the Tower. But whether *such* a conversation as that which hath been pretended actually took place, may be left to the determination of every man of common sense, after comparing Lord Chesterfield's anecdote with Mr. Pope's letter.

There must have been a mistake, or a wilful misrepresentation, *somewhere*. To determine its *origin*, or to mark minutely the various degrees of its progress, till it issued forth into calumny and falsehood, is impossible. I have simply stated matters of fact as they are recorded; and leave it to your readers to settle other points, not quite so obvious and indisputable, as they may think fit. My motives in this very plain relation arose from an honest wish to remove *unmerited* obloquy from the DEAD*. I should sincerely rejoice if the cloud which in other respects *still* shades the character of this ingenious Prelate could be removed with equal facility and success. I am, dear Sir, your faithful, humble servant,

"To Mr. J. Nichols."

SAMUEL PARSONS."

* See the "Illustrations" at the end of this volume, N. VII.

no judicature, and employed in no public cause, have had the honour, in this great and shining incident, which will make the first figure in the history of this time, to enter as it were my protest for your innocency, and my declaration of your friendship. Be assured, my dear Lord, no time shall ever efface that from my heart, should I be denied the power of expressing it ever more with my pen in this manner; but could that permission be obtained, which you had once the extreme goodness to think of asking even from those from whom you would ask nothing, I believe, but what lies very near your heart; and could the permission of corresponding with you be obtained; I do assure you, I would tear off all other writings, and apply it wholly to you (where it would please me best) and to the amusement and (if I could be so happy as to say) comfort of your exile, till God and your innocency (which will support you in it) restore you from it; than which there is not a sincerer or warmer prayer, my Lord, in the breast of your ever obliged and affectionate friend,

A. POPE.

CCCXX. The Duke of WHARTON'S Narrative of Bp. ATTERBURY'S Departure from England.

June 24, 1723.

THE deprived Bishop of Rochester embarked on Tuesday last to execute that part of his sentence which condemns him to perpetual banishment; and which obliges him, in his advanced age, and feeble situation of health, to change his country and climate, and every thing but his Religion. I could wish to have that

* From the True Briton, N^o VII.

Prelate's

Prelate's style, in order to paint a true character of so great and learned a man. But the qualifications that adorn him are so conspicuous, that no flowers of rhetoric are required to illustrate them. The first instance which distinguished him, and entitled him to the favours of the Court, and the esteem of mankind, was, the early proof he gave of his just pretensions to holy orders, by the excellent book which he published in defence of the Reformation. And he could say, the first of June last, " he was the only Bishop of the Church of England, who had written in defence of Martin Luther, " the great Patron of the Protestant interest." This behaviour was justly valued in former reigns; and, it is presumed, cannot be judged a crime in this. In the reign of Queen Anne, he was advanced to the Deanry of Christ-Church, and afterwards created Dean of Westminster, and elected Bishop of Rochester. His behaviour, in every station of life, has shown him to be a person of the greatest wit, built upon the foundation of good sense, and directed by the strictest rules of Religion and morality. He was always for maintaining the dignity and privileges of the several offices he bore in the Church; and this just way of behaviour, enforced by that steadiness which was natural to him, created him many enemies among the Canons of Christ Church and Prebendaries of Westminster, who naturally must, by their own interest, be obliged to oppose any Dean who should maintain the undoubted rights which he ought to enjoy: but it is hoped all these feuds will be at an end in this last-mentioned Chapter, by the prudent and just choice his Majesty has made of Dr. Bradford to succeed

him. His piety towards his children, and his sincerity to his friends, made him justly beloved and respected by both. No other crime can be laid to his charge, but that for which he now suffers, which overbalances all his virtues. The malice of his enemies insinuated, that he would change his Religion when he came into foreign countries, and be deluded into the errors of the Church of Rome*. But he declared in his defence before the House of Lords, with the strongest asseverations, "that he would die at a stake, rather than abandon the principles of the Established Church of England." The cheerfulness with which he endured his fate, shewed him to be superior to all the calamities of life; and would induce every man to believe him innocent, had not so *great*, so *independent*, and so *uncorrupt* a majority in both Houses of Parliament declared him guilty.

CCCXXI. To the Earl of AILESBUURY †.

Brussels, July 1³, 1723.

THE late Bishop of Rochester passed through this place, some days ago, in his way to Spa ‡. During his stay here, he sent a person with a message in writing

* See the "Illustrations" at the end of this volume. N° VII.

† From "The Daily Courant," July 5, 1723.

‡ We shall close our news-paper paragraphs for the present, with the following extracts:

July 5. The late Bishop of Rochester arrived at Brussels last Thursday in good health; and, having visited the Earl of Ailesbury, was by him conducted to an audience of the Marquis de Prié, and set out this day for the Spa, to drink the waters of that place. The Bishop talked of hiring a house at Brussels to pass the winter in, after his return from Aix-la-Chapelle.

writing to the Earl of Ailesbury, a copy of which is *verbatim* as follows :

“ That

11. The Rev. Mr. Moore, Chaplain and Secretary to the late Bishop of Rochester, is made Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Wharton.

13. Having received a Letter from an unknown person the beginning of this week relating to our article from Bruffels in our last, wherein it was said that our paragraph concerning the Earl of Ailesbury and the late Bishop of Rochester was entirely false; we are ourselves satisfied, though the substance of it has been communicated to the Author of the Daily Post, and inserted in his yesterday's paper, that we can with justice abide by the paragraph, having received it from such hands as we can entirely rely on. The Bishop is still at Bruffels, where he intends to continue a few days before he proceeds farther: but it is thought will not hire any house before he is informed whether his residence in that City is approved by the Court.

18. They write from Bruffels, that the late Bishop of Rochester is still there, where he will continue for some time: his Lordship is a little indisposed of the gout.

27. The late Bishop of Rochester continues at Bruffels; but is so troubled with his old companion the gout, that he makes but few visits.

20. The Rev. Dr. Herbert is made Prebendary of Westminster, in the room of Dr. Bradford, now Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster.

25. The Bishop of Rochester has appointed the Reverend Dr. Linford Sub-dean of Westminster, in the room of the Reverend Dr. Evans, who was appointed by the late Bishop, and hath resigned.

August 7. The Reverend Mr. Sherlock, Chaplain to the late Bishop of London, is appointed Curate of the New Chapel, Westminster, in the room of the Reverend Mr. Hughes, who is gone abroad as Chaplain to the Bishop of Rochester.

8. This day is published with his effigies curiously engraven, *Memoirs of the Life and Conduct of Francis Atterbury, late Bishop of Rochester; from his birth to his banishment. With a full and impartial Account of the Proceedings against him; some observations upon the Bishop of Salisbury's Speech, and upon the Replication made to his Defence, by Mr. Reeve and Mr. Wearg the King's Counsel. Addressed to the Right Honourable William Pulteney, Esq.*

“ That the Earl of Ailesbury would be pleased to let
 “ the Marquis de Prié know, that the Bishop of Rochester
 “ is come to settle in Bruffels, and is about hiring an
 “ house for some time, under confidence of not being
 “ any ways molested or disquieted during his residence
 “ in this part of the dominions of his Imperial Majesty,
 “ on whose protection he relies.”

The Earl of Ailesbury returned the paper by the person who brought it; bidding him acquaint the said late Bishop, “ that he desired to be excused from seeing him,
 “ or meddling in any manner in his concerns.”

Since a pretended Speech of the (late) Lord Bishop of Rochester, printed for A. Moore, has been detected as spurious and imperfect; we are now informed, that another imposture is coming forth, pretending to be more correct, to be sold by A. Dodd, &c. All judicious readers will soon observe the fraud; and when the real Speech shall be printed, which may be expected in due time, its correctness will prove it to be genuine, and published by the approbation of the Bishop's friends. See vol. IV. p. 383.

10. The Lord Bishop of Rochester [Dr. Bradford] set out for Cambridge, where he intends to tarry a month or six weeks; his Lordship was attended out of town by a great many gentlemen and tradesmen on horseback.

17. Last Saturday the late Bishop of Ely was interred in the Cathedral of that Church; six Prebendaries held up the pall, and the Reverend Dr. Moss, Dean of Ely, officiated on that occasion. The present Lord Bishop of Rochester, who came on purpose from Cambridge, met the corpse upon the road, and attended it to the grave.

Sept. 28. Mr. Hughes, the Clergyman who had leave to accompany the late Bishop of Rochester beyond sea, was expected home the latter end of this week; and we hear that Mr. Morice, his son-in-law, will also return in about a month's time.

CCCXXII. Dr. JOHN FREIND* to Sir HANS SLOANE.

S I R,

Sept. 22, 1723.

THE bearer, Mr. Mounsey †, is desirous to be an Extra Licentiate: he has only taken the Bachelor degree at Cambridge; but I am told he has employed himself very well in his studies since, and hope he will answer to your satisfaction when he is examined. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

J. FREIND.

CCCXXIII. Licence for WM. MORICE, Esq. and MARY his wife, to go to visit the late Bishop of ROCHESTER; and Leave for OSBORN ATTERBURY, Esq. and Mr. WM. LE HUNT, to correspond with the said late Bishop; dated April 11, 1724.

G E O R G E R.

WHEREAS by an act passed in the ninth year of our reign, intituled, "An act to inflict pains," &c. [as in p. 263.] And whereas the said Francis late Bishop of Rochester, in pursuance of the said act, departed out of this our realm, and resides in foreign parts; and William Morice, Esq. and Mary his wife, the only daughter of the said Francis late Bishop of Rochester, being desirous to visit their said father, have humbly besought us to grant them such our

* See a letter dated July 29, 1728.

† This extraordinary personage died at Chelsea, Dec. 26, 1788, at the advanced age of 95. See Gent. Mag. vol. LVIII. p. 1183.

leave and licence as is for that purpose reserved to us to give and grant by the said act; and have prayed to us to allow to Osborn Atterbury, Esq. only son of the said late Bishop, and to William Le Hunt, Clerk, tutor to the said Osborn Atterbury, the liberty of writing to, and receiving letters from, the said late Bishop; all which we have taken into our royal consideration, and have been graciously pleased to gratify them in their request: And we do, by these presents, give and grant unto the said William Morice and Mary his wife, during our pleasure, full liberty, leave, and licence, to go and reside with their said father for some time; and as well during their stay in parts beyond the seas, as in this our kingdom, freely to hold, entertain, and keep intelligence and correspondence in person, or by letters, messages, or otherwise, with their said father, or with any person or persons employed by him, touching the lawful occasions of him the said Francis late Bishop of Rochester: And we do also, during our pleasure, permit, license, and allow, all our loving subjects, of what degree, name, title, or quality soever, upon all lawful occasions, to hold, entertain, and keep intelligence and correspondence with the said William Morice and Mary his wife, as well in foreign parts or places, as in this our realm. And we do further give and grant full liberty, leave, and licence, to take along with them three servants, to whom we give full licence and liberty to go, abide, and return, as to them shall seem meet; so as the names of such servants, before they enter upon any such journey or voyage, be delivered to one of our Principal Secretaries of State, or to one of his Under Secretaries,

Secretaries, and be by him indorsed on the back of this our sign manual, as the servants intended for the service of the said William Morice and Mary his wife, by these presents. And our subjects are also, upon all lawful occasions, hereby permitted to hold correspondence with any of the said servants. And we do also, during our pleasure give full liberty, leave, and licence, to the said Osborn Atterbury, and William Le Hunt, freely to hold, entertain, and keep intelligence and correspondence with the said Francis late Bishop of Rochester, or with any person or persons employed by him, concerning the necessary and lawful occasions of him the said Francis late Bishop of Rochester. Given under our sign manual, at our court at St. James's, the eleventh day of April 1724, in the tenth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command.

TOWNSHEND.

Servants intended for the service of William Morice, Esq. and Mary his wife, in pursuance of the licence granted by the above sign manual, are.

WILLIAM MAYNWARING FULMAN, and JOAN JAMSSON.

Indorsed per me, GEO. TILSON, 1st May, 1724.

CCCXXIV.

Dr. HUGH CHAMBERLEN * to Sir HANS SLOANE.

S I R,

July 21, 1724.

I CANNOT help returning you many thanks for your obliging letter, which shall always be acknowledged; though hope to be at the next meeting: but could not refrain from owning your great obligation till then, which causes you the trouble of this.

* See a letter dated Jan. 1^o, 1728-9.

I will

I will certainly comply with the Serjeant's opinion, although I cannot see the reason of it; and take it to be the highest piece of friendship in you, the acquainting me of it; who am ever, with respect, Sir, your most obliged humble servant,

HUGH CHAMBERLEN.

CCCXXV. From Mr. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

April 8, 1725.

YOUR letter of the 4th instant, the most welcome one we have received a long time, as it brings us so good an account of your health, came safe and quickly to us. I am sorry you cannot find a convenient house in a more convenient part of the town*. The case being so, you must continue where you are, taking the landlord's offer of about 300 livres per annum, though methinks he might be brought to that reduction without your entering into a lease. If that cannot be compassed, and you agree to continue where you are, I hope you will consider the inconvenience of having him concerned in the coach-houses and stables. I remember he pretended a right, though your six months covenant did not mention it, of putting his horse into the stable, and his chaise into the coach-house. As long as you continue abroad, I must come annually to see you, and therefore should be glad to have room to put up a travelling chaise or two, which I am resolved to buy when I come over next, for the better convenience of travelling; and if the landlord continues to mix both in stable and coach-house, I believe it will be

* This was at Paris, where the Bishop first fixed his residence in 1725.

found very inconvenient. This I mention with great submission, and deserves your consideration no farther than you shall think it necessary towards your own accommodation.

I am much pleased at your taking an house a little distance from the city, believing, and being told, it will probably be of service to your health; and you must have an equipage to convey you comfortably from one house to the other. I am ready to answer the bills you shall draw on me for that purpose, or any other occasion you find necessary. The deficiency I told you should be made good, I think, you may depend upon; and though I hope there will be no occasion of your exceeding your annual income, yet you ought not upon any account to stint yourself in what you find convenient, for the sake of any body you can leave behind you.

Mrs. Morice presents her duty and thanks for the kind expressions you use towards her under her present circumstances. She is the best of wives and daughters, and knows she has the best of fathers. She intended you a letter under her own hand this night, but, finding herself a little uneasy, desires to be excused till next week. She has indeed an ugly cold upon her, attended with a cough, which keeps her from sleep the most part of the night; yet she is in a fair way of going out her nine months, and making a joyful addition to my family about the end of May, soon enough, I hope, for us to undertake a journey to pay our duties to your Lordship before the end of the summer.

Your

Your former letter mentioned the sending you a credit for 500*l.* on each of the two bankers : pray explain yourself more fully on that point, in what method you would have it done. If you mean a standing letter of credit on those two gentlemen (who, as I said before, will undoubtedly take your bills at any time on me for the sums you mention), you should tell me who their correspondents on this side are ; and, upon that notice, I will procure their orders on the two bankers there, to supply you as you desire.

The lady *, whose success has reached you through the printed news, continues most extremely civil to Mrs. Morice ; and I was so happy as to be serviceable on that occasion, which has been well taken.

I am sorry my Portugal papers † are like to be of no use ; however, you need not return them before I come to fetch them. I long for Mrs. Morice's being in a condition to begin a journey to you ; and hope in God we shall meet this summer, and all of us in perfect health. I am ever, my honoured Lord, your most faithful,

WM. MORICE.

Pray mention the dates of the letters you receive from me.

* This alludes probably to the marriage of his friend Dr. Hugh Chamberlen's daughter to Edward Hopkins, Esq. of Coventry, M. P. for Eye in Suffolk ; which took place, at the French Chapel at St. James's, March 1, 1724-5. The Duke of Buckingham and the Dutchess his mother graced the nuptials with their presence.

† Lewis I. King of Spain, died Aug. 20, 1724, at Buen Retiro near Madrid, in the 8th month of his reign, aged 17 years and six days.

Paris, March, 24, 1724-5. Mademoiselle du Beaujolois, who was contracted to the Infant Don Carlos, will return from Spain along with the young Queen Dowager her sister.

*CCCXXVI. Sir HECTOR MACLEAN, LOCHIEL, and
CLANRONALD, to the * * * * *

• Paris, May 17², 1725.

BEING informed by certain accounts from our
friends at home, that our poor country has never
been

* This and nine other articles† are reprinted *literatim* from
a pamphlet which first appeared at Edinburgh in 1768, 4to,
under the title of “The Private Correspondence of Dr. Francis
“ Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and his friends in 1725;
“ [then] never before published.” The pamphlet was thus
introduced: “Bishop Atterbury, in one of his private letters
“ to his friend Mr. Pope, observes, that the world mistook
“ his character. ‘To be quiet,’ says he, ‘and live to my-
“ self, with the few, the very few friends I like, is the point,
“ the single point, I now aim at; though I know, the gene-
“ rality of the world, who are unacquainted with my inten-
“ tions and views, think the very reverse of this character be-
“ longs to me.’ Letter to Mr. Pope, May 15, 1722, (seep. 162.)
“ With what equanimity Bishop Atterbury endured the
“ rigors of his exile, with what unremitting ardour he loved,
“ and revered, and even idolized the British Constitution,
“ will appear from another private letter addressed to the same
“ friend, November 23, 1731. ‘After all, I do and must
“ love my country, with all its faults and blemishes. Even
“ that part of the constitution which wounded me unjustly,
“ and itself through my side, shall ever be dear to me. My
“ last wish shall be, like that of Father Paul, *Esto perpetua!*
“ and when I die at a distance from it, it will be in the same
“ manner as Virgil ‡ describes the expiring Peloponnesian,

“ Sternitur—et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos§.

“ Will not every reader of the smallest discernment pro-
“ nounce those letters to be the genuine effusions of a good
“ heart? He, whose single aim was to live to himself, in the

† Viz. CCCXXVII—CCCXXIX; and CCCXXXI—CCCXXXVI.

‡ Æneid. x. 782.

§ ————— “his eyes

“ He casts to Heaven, on Argos thinks, and dies.” DRYDEN.

“ society

been in more imminent danger of being utterly destroyed than it is at present, by the designs the Government are forming against it, we thought that our duty, both to your M——— and to our country, did require us to apply to you in this necessity, to know what your M——— thinks fit for us to do, in order to avert that ruin, which, unless some means be speedily fallen on to prevent, seems unavoidable. As the matter itself can bear no delay, we doubt not but that your M——— will honour us with your orders as soon as possible; and in case your M——— thinks fit that we should make an attempt for your M———'s service, and the relief of our poor country, whereby we may

“ society of a few chosen friends, could never have sacrificed
 “ his learned leisure to a turbulent faction: He who, even
 “ in exile, loved the constitution of his native country, could
 “ never have engaged in dark and dangerous conspiracies
 “ against that constitution which he loved.

“ Bishop Atterbury was sentenced to perpetual exile, upon
 “ the suspicion of having acted a part in the service of the
 “ Pretender. To his last moments he appears deeply sensible
 “ of the injustice of that sentence: He never would have justified it, by acting that part, for the mere suspicion of
 “ which he had so severely suffered: And least of all he would
 “ have done this with the view of promoting the interests of
 “ one, whom, by many voluntary and solemn oaths, he had
 “ so often abjured. Whether this be the language of declamation, or of simple truth, the reader will determine, after
 “ perusal of the following papers.

“ By what accident they have been preserved, the publisher
 “ does not know: By what means they are now brought to
 “ light, he does not think himself at liberty to explain. As
 “ the engraved specimen* of Bishop Atterbury's hand-writing
 “ establishes their authenticity, any further inquiry concerning them is superfluous.”

* This engraving represents the whole of Letter CCCXXVIII. Instead of copying which, we have now engraved a *second* letter; see p. 298.

maintain ourselves in a capacity of being hereafter serviceable to your M——, which it is evident we never can be if the designs the Government have at present be carried into execution; we hope your M—— will be so good as to order us to be sufficiently furnished with such necessaries as are requisite for an undertaking of this sort, without which all endeavours will be vain and fruitless, and will appear equally rash and desperate. Your M—— shall ever find us, with the greatest zeal and duty, Sir, your M——'s most faithful, most humble, and most obedient subjects and servants,

J. CAMERON.

MACLEAN.

CLANRONALD.

CCCXXVII. Memorial by the Marquis of SEAFORTH and CLANRONALD, May $\frac{15}{26}$, 1725.

MY Lord Marquis of Seaforth and the Captain of Clanronald being desired by my Lord Bishop of Rochester to confer together, that the K—— might be fully apprised of their sentiments on the present conjuncture of affairs in relation to the Highlands, they delivered their sentiments as follows.

That being long absent from their country, and having little correspondence with it, they could not pretend to form an opinion of what the Highlanders may be willing or capable to do for his M——'s service, or their own deliverance: That they did not know how their countrymen were affected by the preparations of the present Government to disarm them; and therefore
could

been in more imminent danger of being utterly destroyed than it is at present, by the designs the Government are forming against it, we thought that our duty, both to your M——— and to our country, did require us to apply to you in this necessity, to know what your M——— thinks fit for us to do, in order to avert that ruin, which, unless some means be speedily fallen on to prevent, seems unavoidable. As the matter itself can bear no delay, we doubt not but that your M——— will honour us with your orders as soon as possible; and in case your M——— thinks fit that we should make an attempt for your M———'s service, and the relief of our poor country, whereby we may

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could

could not judge whether they will tamely submit, or take the resolution to defend themselves.

As for what may be necessary for the encouragement of the Highlanders on this important occasion, and to determine them to unite, and resist the Government, they could not judge, for the reasons given; only they knew, nothing could be done without officers, arms, ammunition, money, and provisions.

That it would be unreasonable for them to pretend to advise his M—— in relation to the number and quantity of these things, because they supposed his M—— would either resolve to make as general an insurrection as possible at this juncture, against the present Government, and summon all his faithful subjects to repair to his Royal standard; or he would only endeavour to give such supplies to the Highlanders as should enable them to preserve themselves from ruin by making such a resistance that might determine the Government to let them live in peace, and leave them in a condition to serve his M—— and their country when a favourable occasion should offer.

On the first supposition, of a general insurrection, as his M—— would probably put himself at the head of his faithful subjects, so in that case it was visible the greatest supplies that could be had would be wished and desired by all good men, both for the safety of his sacred person, and the happy success of the war.

On the second supposition, of supporting the Highlanders, they would not presume to prescribe to his M——: It would be an effect of his goodness to support them; and therefore they thought it more respectful

spectful to him, to refer themselves to what he should think proper, than to make any demands; besides that, being unacquainted, as is said before, with the present disposition and circumstances of the Highlanders, they could not take it upon them to determine what might be requisite for them.

SEAFORTH.

CLANRONALD.

CCCXXVIII. To JOHN CAMERON of Lochiel.

S I R,

Saturday, [May 27, 1725.]

THERE being matters of consequence on which I should be extremely glad to have your opinion and advice, together with that of some others; I send my servant, to beg the favour of you to come to Paris if you can, and as soon as you can possibly, there being no time to be lost in the case. If I can see you here to-morrow morning, be pleased, Sir, to bring your son along with you, and to desire Sir Hector Maclean that I may have the favour of seeing him also. I would not give you this trouble if I were able myself to wait on you at St. Germain's. I am, with great regard, Sir, your very faithful and most obedient servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCXXIX. Memorial given in to the Bishop of ROCHESTER by SIR HECTOR MACLEAN and LOCHIEL. Dated at Paris, May 28, 1725.

SIR Hector Maclean and Lochiel being asked, by the Bishop of Rochester, what they thought might

be of use to the K——.'s better information in the present situation of the Highlanders, whereby he may the more easily take measures how to prevent their ruin, they have given their thoughts as follows.

We beg leave to represent to the K——, that nothing less than the ruin of our country, and of his M——'s cause in Scotland, is intended at present by the Government in England; and that both these considerations are so dear to us, that we cannot hesitate a moment to resolve to sacrifice our lives in order to prevent it. We doubt not but his M——, as soon as orders can arrive, will give us all the assistance he can, in point of arms, ammunition, officers, money, and dry provisions, such as biscuit, brandy, &c.

We humbly think this matter will appear to his M—— in two lights: *first*, As a necessary measure for the defence of the Highlanders; and, in the second place, if a noble spirit should shew in the country, and a favourable event happen, it may, we presume, deserve his consideration, how far it may be improved for his M——'s service: In which case, we beg leave humbly to represent to his M——, that it will be of the utmost consequence, when this matter is once in motion, to make a diversion in England: And we have too good an opinion of the K——'s friends in that country, to think, that, after so many professions of loyalty, they should either want inclination or courage to act their part like men on this occasion.

We presume, for his M——'s information, to propose to him, whether he will not, on this occasion, write to ————; and
we

we submit also to his M——, whether it might not be proper to write to ———*. His M—— will also be best able to judge, whether good use might not be made of * * * *, who we understand has given late assurances of his loyalty to the K——. He is a great clan-man, and cannot naturally be pleased with the destruction of the Highlands, and has lost his government of Inverness.

We are humbly of opinion, it is happy that * * * * is in Scotland; for we believe him capable to act a considerable part in the K——'s service, and that of his country, on this occasion.

We humbly think that a great deal will depend on the person whom his M—— will think fit to honour with the command. Such a one has noble examples to follow, even in late days, in the actions of the great Montrose, and of Lord Dundee; and, if he treads in their footsteps, we cannot despair of every thing going well. It does not become us to propose any person to the K—— for this important trust: the merits and capacity of the K——'s principal subjects are known to him; and it is his right to chuse: but we hope he will permit us to represent how much the Marquis of Seaforth is beloved in his own country, and by his neighbours.

We have seen, and do concur with, the informations given-in by the Marquis of Seaforth and Clanronald to

* Mention is made of several persons to whom letters ought to be addressed; but their names are omitted by the publisher. The writers of this memorial may have supposed that they had more friends in Scotland than they really had: it therefore seemed improper to publish a conjectural list of the partizans of the P——. *Orig. Editor.*

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the Bishop of Rochester; but those other thoughts having occurred to us since that paper was wrote, we thought it our duty to represent them.

We have nothing else to lay before his M——, but that we shall long with the utmost impatience for his commands.

CCCXXX. WILLIAM MORICE, Esq. and MARY his Wife, Licence to go and visit the late Bishop of ROCHESTER; dated May 31, 1725.

G E O R G E R.

WHEREAS by an act, &c. [as in p. 263.] We do, by these presents, give and grant unto the said William Morice, and Mary his wife, during our pleasure, full liberty, &c. [as in p. 264.] And we do further give and grant full liberty, leave, and licence, to take along with them three servants, &c. [as in p. 265.]

Signed,

TOWNSHEND.

Servants appointed to attend : {
JOAN JAMSSON,
WILLIAM EGGER,
WILLIAM WALTER.

Indorsed by me, CH. DELAFAYE, 21 Aug. 1725.

CCCXXXI. To the Marquis of SEAFORTH, Sir HECTOR MACLEAN, CLANRONALD, and LOCHIEL.

Albano, June the 13th, 1725.

BY the accounts I have received since I wrote to you on the 29th of May, I perceive the situation of my brave Highlanders to be very different from
what

what I then apprehended it, since it appears the design is not only to disarm them, but to extirpate the very race. This is what, I am sure, none of them will ever submit to without resistance, either those on the place, or you on this side of the sea; and I am myself resolved to do all that depends on me to support them, and enable them to defend themselves on this occasion. I remark with pleasure the Bishop of Rochester's forwardness to execute all my orders to this end with the utmost vigour; and as time doth not allow me to particularise them here, I shall refer you to him as to all particulars; not doubting of your exact compliance, and of your exerting on this occasion that ardent zeal for the good cause, and the welfare of your country, which you have already shewn in so loyal a manner.

I hope Providence will bless your and my endeavours on this occasion, and put me soon in a condition of making you a free and happy people, and of giving you, every one in particular, those marks of favour which you so justly deserve. — R.

CCCXXXII. Answer to * * * * * by Sir HECTOR MACLEAN and LOCHIEL.

Paris, July 2, 1725.

MY Lord Marquis of Seaforth having sent for us to come to him on the 28th of last month, which we accordingly did; his Lordship opened you M——'s letter, directed to us all in general, which he had received from the Bishop of Rochester; and wherein we were mighty glad to find, that your M——

had generously offered us all the assistance we could reasonably have expected. But we were extremely mortified when, at the same time, my Lord Seaforth told us, that it was too late; for that he had received good intelligence from England, that the troops were so far advanced already, that they could not fail of being encamped, and possessed of the country, before we could be there; and consequently render all our endeavours to bring it relief fruitless; and that he had upon receipt of this intelligence, which he thought sure and sufficient grounds to go upon, sent orders to his men to deliver up their arms, thinking it the most safe and prudent way of acting as matters stood, and most conducive to your M——'s service, and the benefit of the country; and that he doubted not but, after serious reflection upon the matter, we would think that course the most adviseable for us to follow likewise. Upon which, considering, on one hand, the person who got the intelligence to be of so known zeal and affection to your M——'s service, that we are persuaded he would do nothing he thought prejudicial to it; and, on the other hand, seeing his resolution and conduct upon receiving this intelligence; we thought it our duty to let your M—— know, we are humbly of opinion, that our undertaking any thing at present could no wise advance your M——'s service, or the good of the country; at the same time assuring your M——, that, if you think otherwise, we are ready to obey your M——'s orders with all chearfulness; as we shall ever be, upon all occasions, to make it appear to your M—— with how much zeal and duty we are,

Sir, &c.

CCCXXXIII.

CCCXXXIII. Sir HECTOR MACLEAN to LOCHIEL.

DEAR SIR,

THE following letters are exact copies; the first, of the K——'s letter, directed to you and me; the second, of the Bishop of Rochester's letter to me, wherein the K——'s was inclosed. The originals of both, which you have perused, are at present in my custody. I am, dear Sir, yours, &c. **MACLEAN.**

CCCXXXIV. * * * * * to LOCHIEL and Sir
HECTOR MACLEAN.

Rome, July 18, 1725.

I HAVE received yours, of the 2d July; and cannot but be sensibly concerned to find affairs in such a situation that my faithful Highlanders could not be able to reap any advantage from the willingness and readiness I was in to have assisted them on this occasion. I shall be, on all others, equally disposed to help them; and I heartily wish that, by a strict union and harmony, and a disinterested zeal for the good cause among all concerned in it, they may be yet able one day to make the most handsome appearance in its and their own defence. Your zealous and dutiful behaviour on this occasion is what I shall ever retain the most grateful memory of; and I hope the day will soon yet come, in which I may be able to distinguish those who have on all occasions so signalized themselves for my service.

— R.

CCCXXXV. To Sir HECTOR MACLEAN.

S I R,

Saturday afternoon.

I RECEIVED the inclosed by the last Italian post, with directions to convey it to you; and, at the same time, "to say to you and to Lochiel, in the K——'s name, all that is kind on your becoming behaviour "on this occasion." These are the very words of the letter: I can add none that are more significant; and therefore take my leave, with assurances of my being, Sir, your very faithful and most obedient servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCXXXVI. Lord INVERNESS * to LOCHIEL.

S I R,

July 25, 1725.

I CAN assure you, the Bishop of Rochester did justice to your zeal, in representing fully to his M—— the honourable part you, and your son, and Sir Hector Maclean, acted on this late occasion, when his M—— was hopeful that an opportunity might have offered, wherein he might have shewn how great a value he puts upon his faithful subjects in the Highlands of Scotland. I need not repeat to you the concern their situation

* Colonel John Hay of Cromlix, youngest son of Thomas sixth Earl of Kinnoul. He married Margery, one of the eight daughters of David 5th Viscount Stormont. In 1715 he followed the Pretender from Scotland; and received from him the title of Earl of Inverness. His brother-in-law, James Murray, was one of Queen Anne's Commissaries for settling the trade with France; he afterwards went abroad, and lived in the Court of the Pretender, whom he served in divers capacities, among others in that of Prime Minister; and had from him the title of Earl of Dunbar. This was the second son of the 5th Viscount Stormont; the late Viscount was the eldest son; and the present transcendent Luminary of the law, that singular honour to the human intellect, the Earl of Mansfield, was the fourth.—Another of Lord Inverness's Letters dated Feb. . . . 1731-2, is printed in vol. III.

gives

gives the K——; but I am hopeful it shall not go so ill with them as may be apprehended.

What your brother has undertaken is of a piece with the forwardness he always shewed, when any occasion presented of being useful.

Be so good as make my kind compliments to your son, and Sir Hector Maclean; and believe me, with truth, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

INVERNESS.

CCCXXXVII *. To the Rev. Mr. WILLIAMS.

Saturday morning early.

I RECEIVED your first letter when I was in bed on Wednesday night; the second, not long after I was up, on Thursday morning: both when I was much out of order, as I have been till yesterday ever since almost I saw you. I expected you more than once, according as you appointed; and wonder what has detained you—I suppose (what detained you at Chatou and thereabouts) more agreeable company. If you return thither to-day (as I apprehend you will), I desire you in your way to take a dinner with yours

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCXXXVIII. To Mr. WILLIAMS.

Saturday morning.

YOU dine with me, I suppose, to-day; and will give me an opportunity of discoursing with you; for I have as yet had none. Let me know the time you intend to be with me.

FR. ROFFEN.

* This letter and the four which follow it have an evident connexion with those published at Edinburgh: they were for the first time printed in 1782, by the present Editor, from the originals, in the possession of Nathanael Chauncey, Esq.

CCCXXXIX.

CCCXXXIX*. To Mr. WILLIAMS.

Saturday, between 11 and 12.

THIS is not a day for the entertainment of company, considering how we are to be employed to-morrow-morning †. Therefore pray come alone to dinner; and then let me know whether Sir Hector will make one to-morrow, and afterwards dine with me.

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCXL. To Mr. WILLIAMS.

Sunday night.

WRITE C^m † word, that you are going a long journey, and shall not soon return to Paris, and shall be set out before his answer can reach you. Tell Sample ||, I have a letter from the D. of Leria; and if he has any thing to propose for himself as an attendant, will recommend him. But I suppose Leria will not come by Paris. He sets out from Madrid (he tells me) by the end of this month; and therefore I must write to him to-morrow.

What becomes of Elliot, my picture § ?

I have something relating to you from Italy. You are desired to set out as early as you can. FR. ROFFEN.

* Of this Letter a *fac simile* copy is here annexed.

† This alludes to the mode in which the Bishop usually spent his Sunday mornings, in the performance of ecclesiastical duty in his family, when he usually administered the sacrament.

‡ Dr. Chamberlen, probably.

|| John Sample was examined by the Secretaries of State on the apprehending of Bishop Atterbury; but before the trial came on, he contrived to escape out of the hands of the messengers, and went to France.

§ Q. Picture-man. In the margin is written, "Dans la Breed street à la Haye."

CCCXLI.

CCCXLI. To Mr. WILLIAMS.

Thursday night, 10^o o'clock.

REMEMBER to get me my ink, and the letters of the Svisse, before you go, and, if you can, the Common Prayer-book I lent Sample, and which I do not intend to give him unless I were very sure he would use it. When I see you to-morrow morning, I will send somewhat by you to St. Germain's; and I will get for you against you come Philips's book about the Funds, which you lent me.

You see what sad ink I write with——

If, before I see you, that matter at the Convent can be traced, I should be glad. Good-night.

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCXLII. From Mr. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Thursday, July 29, 1725.

MY last * bore date the 22d of July, since which no letter has arrived from you. My wife has continued to grow better every day. What is now wanting, is the recovery of her strength and appetite; to regain both which, I have, by advice of the two Doctors †, taken lodgings for her at Kensington Gravel-pits. This evening I am to carry her thither; and, af-

* This letter does not appear to have been preserved. The present one is addressed, "A Monseigneur Monseigneur l'Evêque de Rochester, à Paris; à la grand Maison de Mr. Adam, rue des Postes."

† Probably Dr. Chamberlen and Dr. Wyntle.

ter about a fortnight's airing there, we reckon she will find herself strong enough to venture upon the journey she has so much longed after. We fully design to leave Westminster in about three weeks, and in a week more to be with you at Paris.

All our children are well. I beg your Lordship's blessing on us all; and am, with perfect duty, your Lordship's ever obedient humble servant,

WM. MORICE.

CCCXLIII. From Mr. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD, Sunday Night, Calais, 9 Sept. 1725, N. S.

WE are safely arrived here, after a passage of two hours and an half from Dover. You may imagine, by the shortness of our passage, we must have had a brisk gale to blow us over; and so indeed we had; the sea ran high, and the vessel tossed much: which made Mrs. Morice sicker than usual; but we are safe landed, and all is well so far.

The greatest trouble we are now under is, to hear by Mr. Panton's letter (which met me here) that you are seized with a fit of the gout: I hope it won't last long, but that we shall find you as well as you have of late been, upon our arrival at Paris. What day that will be, I can't say; for I shall take care not to hurry Mrs. Morice too much, and travel no farther in a day than she finds herself very capable of bearing. I shall so soon be with you, that I need say nothing more. Your Lordship knows I am ever your most faithful and dutiful

WILLIAM MORICE.

CCCXLIV.

CCCXLIV. From Mrs. MORICE.

Jan. 27, 1725-6.
Feb. 7

I KNOW, dear Papa, it will be a pleasure to you to see it under my own hand, that we are safely arrived in Delahay-street*, though it is no news, for Mr. Morice told you so last week; but I can tell you more, which is, that I begin to recover the fatigue of the journey, which I was not sensible of upon the road, as I have been since. I own I should not make it my choice to travel again in winter; but surely I have now given a proof that I can bear any thing; and therefore you must not think of not letting me come to you again. I begin now to be very uneasy at not receiving any letter from you since we came over; for, if we hear nothing of you, our fears will make us imagine the worst.

I hope soon you will have an account that my brother † has yielded to reason, and consented to go to sea, which we found him utterly averse to. He is now with us; and though he was very irregular in our absence, we hope, now we are at home, he will behave better; and we are resolved to continue him with us, if it is any way possible for us to keep him.

I have enquired after the servant you ordered me; he is to come to me in a day or two; when I have talked to him, you shall know my thoughts of him. Mr. Morice is from home, and is hurried about from morning till night. I found all my little ones well, and hope every minute to hear that you are so. Believe me, dear Papa, your most affectionate and dutiful daughter, MARY MORICE.

* "Mr. Morice and his lady, who had been to visit the late Bishop of Rochester at Paris, returned hither on Wednesday last." *Whitchall Evening*, Jan. 25. † See p. 309.

Just as I had writ my name, Mr. Morice came in; he sends his duty;—pray let your next neighbour know I have not forgot her.

CCCXLV. To Mr. MORICE.

Feb. $\frac{4}{15}$, 1725-6.

YOUR letter of $\frac{\text{Jan. } 27}{\text{Feb. } 7}$, reached me but yesterday morning; so I could not answer it till to-morrow's post. In the mean time, the bearer setting out gives me an opportunity of sending it, by which I apprehend it will reach your hands sooner than by the post to-morrow. I have only time to say, how glad I am to hear that all is well with you and Mrs. Morice. I thank you for all yours, and her for both her letters; one from Calais, and another from Westminster. My old ail continues much as it was; in other respects, I am better than I have been for some years; but am in cruel want of money *, and forced to borrow till you supply me. And yet I cannot desire you well to return any, till your exchange is thoroughly fixed. If before that I am under a necessity, I will draw upon you. As to the stocks, I can give no other order than what I gave you upon the road. You know I wished ten weeks ago, that you would have gone over on purpose, and left Mrs. Morice here: but I saw you were unwilling, and therefore did not press it; and by not leaving a power in somebody's hands, it was impossible to transact that matter but when you were present. Since that thing is as it is, we must make the best of it, and do as we can—and my opinion still continues, that you should

* This is a sufficient contradiction to the idle report of his having carried large sums abroad with him. See p. 268.

fell on till I am got clearly out, though you keep the money in specie without any ways employing it: for certainly stocks will fall lower yet*; how soon, or how late, nobody can tell; and I desire to be secure of something to maintain me while I live, supposing any worse accident should still happen to them. If afterwards, when they are fallen yet lower, there should be hopes of their fixing, and then rising again, it will be time to consider, whether I shall afterwards buy when they are low, and venture any money again in that bottom. In the mean time, I am still in the same mind, *to sell, and as fast as you can*. I shall be a great loser; but better lose that than more. You indeed, and yours, will be the greatest losers: for as to myself, I hope I shall have enough to maintain me. So I can only repeat my directions, to sell, and be clear of the funds; which I hope may continue at a stay till you part with what belongs to me.

Adieu! God bless you both, and your children! Love and blessing to Mrs. Morice. I am glad to hear her speak of all her fatigues with so much courage: but I shall be tender of ever putting her again to like hazards. Again God bless you both! Write to me in some other than the common way: for it is no pleasure to me to hear from you by the common post, any farther than it satisfies me you are well—Nor care I that the eyes which will peep into your letters should be acquainted with our little family-affairs. I add no more, but that I am ever most assuredly yours, FR. ROFFEN.

* Bank Stock was then at 128½; India Stock, 153½; S. Sea Stock, 110.—Before the end of the year, Bank Stock was lower by 5 per cent, and India and S. Sea Stock 15 per cent.

CCCXLVI. To Mrs. MORICE.

MY DEAR HEART,

March 25, 1726.
April 5

I MUST inclose a line to you separately, at the same time I write to Mr. Morice. I am concerned to hear of the sickly state of your family, but most that you yourself are out of order; and shall be uneasy till I have better news. I am glad to find you continue to be more and more welcome where you visit sometimes in a chair*. I wish that friendship may increase, for several reasons.

I forgot to tell Mr. Morice, that if Thomas comes over, and demands payment for the shirts and caps sent me from Brussels, Mr. Morice should pay him only for half a dozen shirts and six caps: for I have had no more, nor any account of his sending more to me, whatever be the meaning of it. My she-neighbour wonders she has not heard from you; having, as she says, writ to you, and being very sure the letter was put into your hands. Press Mr. Morice to get as much as he can of the money I lent, from the merchant to whom he is referred. Take care of yourself, and let me have a line under your hand, to assure me you are got well again. I have told Mr. Morice how it is with me—better much than I ever expected; and I hope it will be better still.

* This was, we may venture to pronounce, at his great friend the Dutchess of Buckingham's. Many reasons for this assertion will present themselves to the attentive reader in the course of the correspondence between the Bishop and Mrs. Morice.

There

There are few reasons now for which life is valuable to me : but one of them, and no slight one, is, that I may perhaps by the continuance of it make yours happier hereafter—and that thought itself is some degree of present happiness to me. God bless you and yours! and believe me your ever loving father, FR. ROFFEN.

CCCXLVII. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

May $\frac{2}{13}$, 1726.

I WAS infinitely pleased to receive the little separate letter you sent me, and to hear of your being so well—You are in the right to think the continuance of your life will be a comfort to mine—I assure you, dear Papa, there is no wish nearer my heart than length of days and health to you : it is indeed wishing happiness to myself, so that my interest and duty join together in it. I am willing to fancy that this alteration in your health, so little expected, and so much for the better, with the prospect you have of its still growing better, foretells better things for the time to come, than have befallen us these four last years. I will flatter myself that you have now taken a new lease of life, I hope a long one; and that Providence will at least so order things, that we may spend the remainder of our years not at such a distance, nor under such restrictions, as at present.—I do not know what there is more for me to desire; at least I have nothing further to wish for at present. I am, dear Papa, your ever dutiful and affectionate daughter,

MARY MORICE.

VOL. II.

X

I am

I am now at the Gravel-pits *—not, I thank God, for want of health, but to establish it. The air of this place agrees extremely well with me, and I am really never rightly well in town.

CCCXLVIII. From Mr. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

May 23, 1726.

MY wife and family continue to enjoy a good share of health; as I am glad to find you do, by your letter of the 22d of May, N. S. Dr. Wyntle calls upon me sometimes; but I should see him oftener, were I altogether in town. I hope in time he will fall into business: as yet I do not hear much of it. My brother Freind † has assured me he will shew him all the civility, and do him all the service, that lies in his way. I am sorry the hat I left behind don't please you; I cannot tell where to get a better, though I will endeavour at it as you order me.

As I was in the city t'other day, I met with a bill of an old date (the 23d of November, 1723), drawn on me by Mr. Wilkinfon from Amsterdam: it is for no more indeed than 1 l. 4 s., and is for the cost of two pound of tea, and for the postage of letters relating thereto. This must be for tea sent you when at Bruffels, and therefore I was surprized at the bill's being never presented to me before; however, as it was produced to me by a rich and eminent merchant (Mr. Brown), who is Jo. Taylor's acquaintance, and by whose means you formerly had the credit on Moretus at Antwerp, I made no great

* See the Letter referred to in p. 299. Dr. J. Freind's lady was sister to Mr. Morice.

† See p. 279.

difficulty in paying the 24 shillings, telling him, at the same time, I had some faint remembrance that a note of the like kind, and for about the same sum of money, had formerly been paid by me. He answered, that it could not be the same, the note having lain by him and not called for, the sum being so trifling, and knowing that I would pay it whenever he met me. You will easily find out, upon reviewing the accompts I settled with you in the green book, whether this money has been formerly paid; if so, Mr. Brown has promised, as you will see by his receipt on the back of the note, to repay the same. You have here inclosed a copy of the note and endorsement.

I have lately sent you over a Cheshire cheese; but the person whom I employed in shipping it off, forgetting to apply to me for an address how to send it, did, of his own accord, cause it to be directed to your neighbour. I hope it will reach you safe, and that it will please your taste. I am, with entire duty and respect, your Lordship's ever obedient son and servant, WM. MORICE.

CCCXLIX. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

May 23, 1726.

SINCE you receive my letters with so much kindness, I ought certainly to write to you often; for I am never so well pleased myself, as when I am doing any thing I think may please you:—as my writing will do so, I cannot let Mr. Morice's letter go away without adding a postscript. He has told you I am well; and I need not tell you how glad I am that you are so. The

X 2

lady

lady * that visited me last year has repeated her visits to me this ; and she does upon all occasions shew her friendship and regard to me. I am indeed greatly obliged to her, and I dare say shall be so more and more. Since I resolve to write often to you, you will accept of a little at a time, as it comes from, dear Papa, your ever dutiful daughter,

MARY MORICE.

CCCL. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

Oct. 17, 1726.

I HAVE a complaint against Mr. Morice. He has put me off from writing so soon as I intended to have done, and persuaded me to reserve my letter for a post when you should have none from him ; and now I have caught such a cold, by being in town good part of last week, that it is with difficulty I see to write :— however, I will not defer it any longer, or delay telling you how pleased I was at the news of your having got so well and so soon rid of the gout. I am glad to hear Mons. Adams has made such improvements to the gardens, and such an addition to the house. I hope it will now be perfectly commodious, and as agreeable to you as the description you give of it in your letter is to me. I hope too, since the gout seems to be so well subdued, that you will be able to take more enjoyment in the garden, than your confinement for the time past has admitted of. I promise myself much pleasure in being there with you early next spring ; and I trust in God, I

* This lady was probably the Dutchess of Buckingham ; see p. 304.

shall find your state of health to be so good, as not to have it lessened on that account. All my little family is well, and so is my brother *. I cannot say much as to his goodness; and though I have had his company but a little while, I heartily wish, for his sake, he was abroad again †. Mr. Morice has writ to you about sending him, and wishes for your answer as soon as possible.

I am, dear Papa, your ever affectionate and dutiful daughter,

MARY MORICE.

* See pp. 220, 301, 310, 317, 318.

† Mr. Osborn Atterbury was admitted in 1718 at Westminster, whence in 1722 (being then Captain of the school), he was elected to Christ Church. Soon after that period the Bishop wrote the affectionate letter which is printed in p. 218. In 1724 he was under the tuition of Mr. Le Hunt, (see p. 279.) and applied for a licence to correspond with his father. Early in 1726 he went to Barbados; and it appears by the next letter, that in November that year he sailed for India. He returned in August 1728; and in December following embarked again for China, where he continued till the death of his uncle, whose testamentary generosity (see p. 220.) in some degree alleviated his father's disregard. He was certainly, however, to say no worse of him, a very strange young man, and addicted to low company; and the Bishop appears (vol. II. p. 317,) to have been under a fear that he would marry indiscreetly, which was actually the case, and but a few months after the father's death. He married a servant in the family of Mr. Morice (the daughter of a gardener at Thistleworth). She died lately at Bromley College.—Mr. Osborn Atterbury was ordained by Bishop Hoadly, who had no particular attachment to the family; and obtained first the rectory of Great Houghton, co. Northampton, (to which he was presented in 1742 by Robert Rogers and Jonathan Warner); and in June 1746 that of Oxhill, co. Warwick, worth 200l. a year, where he passed the latter part of his life with great propriety; and died, much respected, in 1752.

CCCLI. From MRS. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

November 28, 1726.

I HAVE delayed a little writing to you, that my letter might carry the news of my brother's being safe on board, and, I believe, gone for India; the ship was to leave Gravesend this day. He has my wishes for a good voyage, and a good reformation: nobody needs it more*. He has heartily vexed Mr. Morice and me for these three months past; and would have been a continual grief to you, had he been near you; and, unless he mends very much, it would be well he could be as much out of your mind as your sight.

I am glad to hear that your apartment is improved and made convenient for you—mine is full good enough for me, and I am not in the least concerned that the landlord has stopped short in his design. Since you find yourself so well at Paris, pray do not revive your thoughts of going farther off. I think you are at too great a distance at present; for, were you nearer, we might hear of you oftener. As to my undertaking a journey to see you, it would be much the same thing; for the length of it would never terrify me from venturing upon it. You can remove into no quarter of the world that I won't follow you; and, I wish I could add, stay with you. I can answer, Mr. Morice would be pleased, if it could be brought about: and I don't live without hopes but in time circumstances may suit with our inclinations, and render it practicable. I am now at a snug apartment at Holland-house†, where I daily find the benefit of the good air; and my whole family has not enjoyed so good health a long time. Some of our rooms

* See pp. 302. 309. 317.

† At Kensington; see p. 306.

are pretty large ; but the walls are thick, and they are really warmer than our little London rooms, and much better winter quarters, though you seem to imagine otherwise. I am sure they agree with me much better and so I have reason to speak well of them. Mr. Morice is in town ; and it being, I hear, the last day of the term, he has more business than ordinary ; wherefore I fancy you will hardly have a letter from him this time. He is very well, and we please ourselves often with the thoughts of our journey to you next spring. I am, dear Papa, your most affectionate and dutiful daughter,

MARY MORICE.

CCCLII. To. Mr. MORICE.

DEAR MR. MORICE,

Nov. 26
Dec. 7, 1726.

I AM in arrear to you for three letters, of Nov. 3, 10, and 20 ; the two last of which inclosed bills of 100 l. each. As to the first 100 pounds, I immediately consulted my neighbour, who understands these things ; and he made me the return under his hand which I inclose, though undoubtedly you did for the best. Waters * has nothing of Cantilion's in his hands ; and therefore Cantilion advancing the money will be paid for it, and Waters must have his commission-money beside. That's the reason the number of livres sinks when one draws upon t'other. They that are substantial, and have money actually lying here, are most advantageously dealt with, if you knew where to find them. I will employ the last sum as you direct. I have received the 10 l. for the watch, which you must charge to my [account.] The hat also and the three books (two

* An eminent banker at Paris.

12. ATTERBURY'S EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

Great and one little) are at last arrived. I think that a good one. I shall be glad to hear Obby is sailed the farther he is from me, the less I shall think of him and consequently the less I shall be grieved. I suppose, he has not found time even to write to me before he went. If he has writ, 'twill arrive by this day's post; but I do not expect it, or indeed any thing from him that can give me the least satisfaction. It would be a strange disappointment to me, if he should alter for the better; and the only disappointment he can give me.

The two quartos * pleased me much, nor was I easy till I had perused every line of them; but was sorry to find, at the close of the last, that so much of the work was from two other hands †; since so much less of it belongs to that which I most value. I shall send you over some French books
shortly

* These were the Fourth and Fifth (the two concluding) volumes of Pope's translation of the *Odyssey* of Homer, which had been delivered to the subscribers in the middle of the month of June preceding the date of this letter.

† "Of the *Odyssey*," says Dr. Johnson, "Pope translated only twelve books; the rest were the work of Broome and Fenton; the notes were written wholly by Broome, who was not over-liberally rewarded. The publick was carefully kept ignorant of the several shares; and an account was subjoined at the conclusion, which is now known not to be true. The number of subscribers was five hundred and seventy-four, and of copies eight hundred and nineteen; so that his profit, when he paid his assistants, was still very considerable. The work was finished in 1725; and from that time he resolved to make no more translations. The sale did not answer Lintot's expectation; and he then pretended to discover something of fraud in Pope, and commenced, or threatened, a suit in Chancery." The history of the publication of the *Iliad* may be seen in the *Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer*, p. 502.

The

shortly in exchange, and advertize you of the manner and time of their coming. I am

The following advertisements, relative to the translation of the *Odyſſey*, will perhaps be conſidered as curious :

1. To prevent any farther Impoſition on the Publick, there is now preparing for the preſs, by ſeveral hands, *HOMER DEFENDED* ; being a detection of the many errors committed by Mr. *Pope*, in his pretended translation of *Homer*, wherein is fully proved that he neither underſtands the original nor the Author's meaning, and that in ſeveral places he has falſified it on purpoſe. To which is added, a ſpecimen of a translation of the firſt book of *Odyſſeys*, which has lain printed by Mr. Lintot ſome time, and which he intends to publiſh, in order to prejudice Mr. *Tickell's* excellent verſion. Any Gentlemen who have made obſervations upon Mr. *Pope's Homer*, and will be pleaſed to ſend them to Mr. Curll, at the Dial and Bible againſt St. Dunſtan's Church in Fleet-Street, ſhall have them faithfully inſerted in this work.

2. Propoſals by Mr. Pope for a Translation of *Homer's Odyſſey*. This Work conſiſts of the ſame number of books as the *Iliad* (viz. twenty-four), and of as large a body of Notes and Extracts. It is printed in the ſame manner, ſize, paper, and ornaments. It is propoſed to the Subſcribers at a guinea leſs ; namely, at five guineas. The firſt three volumes (viz. fourteen books) are already printed ; in conſideration of which, three guineas are to be paid, and the remaining two upon delivery of them. The greateſt number of the impreſſion being already ſubſcribed for, thoſe who would have the books are deſired to ſend their names and payments to Mr. Lintot, at the Croſs Keys between the Temple Gates in Fleet-Street ; who will deliver receipts for the ſame till the laſt day of February next, when the ſubſcription will be cloſed. *Daily Courant*, Jan. 27, 1724-5.

3. In a few days will be publiſhed, the Translation of *Homer's Odyſſey*. Mr. Pope hereby gives notice, that the firſt three volumes are ready to be delivered to the Subſcribers, at Mr. Jervas's, principal painter to his Majeſty, next door to the Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount Townſhend's, in Cleaveland-court, St. James's. Three guineas having already been paid, this laſt payment is only of two guineas, for the remaining two volumes ; for which other receipts will be indorſed on the back of the former receipts, which are therefore deſired to be ſent with the payment. No other edition of this work is printed on the ſame paper, or in the ſame ſize, or with

I am glad to find you are all so well. I have not had so much health these many years. My blessing and love to my dear girl! from whom I shall be pleased to hear. God bless you and all yours; and believe me to think of you always with the utmost affection. FR. ROFFEN.

CCCLIII. To Mrs. MORICE.

MY DEAR HEART,

Dec. 7th, 1726.

I MUST own your kind letter of Nov. 28, O. S. as soon as I can after receiving it; because, the sooner I answer it, the sooner I hope to receive such another: and I need not tell you, how much of the small remains of satisfaction left me consists in hearing from you.

with the ornaments on copper, which are fifty in number, designed by Mr. Kent: nor will any ever be exposed to sale, or to be procured by any but the subscribers. lb. Apr 14, 1725.

4. This day is published, The Odysey of Homer, translated from the Greek, vol. 4, 5. Mr. Pope gives notice to the subscribers, that whoever sends their receipts may then receive their two last volumes in sheets, without farther payment, at Mr. Jervas's, principal painter to his Majesty, at Cleaveland-court by St. James's; or at Mr. Lintot's, bookseller, between the Temple Gates, Fleet-Street. lb. June 17, 1726.

5. This day are published, the two last volumes of Mr. Pope's Homer's Odysey. Printed on large and small paper, folio; and in twelves, with cuts before each book. To which are added, an index to the whole; Mr. Archdeacon Parnell's translation of Homer's Battle of the Frogs and Mice, in three cantos; and a large postscript by Mr. Pope; wherein are a few observations on the true character and style of the Odysey: That it is a moral and political work, instructive to all degrees of men and women, and fitted with images, examples, and precepts of civil and domestic life. Concluding with some remarks upon Madame Dacier. Printed for Bernard Lintot, between the Temple Gates. Where may be had, all Mr. Popes's Works, in twelve volumes in folio, bound, gilt on the back, the large for twelve guineas, and the small paper for seven guineas, per sett. lbid. June 26, 1726.

I am

I am glad to hear your new lodgings, at this season of the year, agree so well with you and your little family. I am surprized at the degree of health I have (and never thought to have) recovered. Of the gout at present I have nothing; but doubtless shall hear of it again at its proper season. God forbid I should not, provided it be by such fits as the last was; which I shall look upon as a remedy, and not a disease. But my other ail (which indeed was what troubled me most) diminishes apace; nor do I despair but that in some time I shall be altogether rid of it. All these effects I attribute to the air of Paris; and particularly of that highest spot of it in which I live. This is not matter of guess, but sense: for I not only find, but plainly feel, the influence of it; and have now another kind of constitution than I had for many years in England, before I left it.

You see, my dear, how I entertain you (like an old man) with accounts of myself, which to others would be tiresome, but, I dare say, are acceptable to you; and for that reason I send them. Nothing pleases me more than to hear you are well. My business is, to remember you as often, and forget your brother as much, as is possible. I had not a line from him during his stay in England. God has made me amends, in your duty and goodness, for the want of both in him. Upon the whole, I am contented; and, weighing the happiness on one side against the unhappiness on the other, find no reason to complain. These are the kind mixtures of good and evil, so tempered by a Wise Hand, as that we have no reason either to be weary of life or fond of it.

it. That is my case at present : but I will not enter farther into such reflections. God preserve and bless you and yours ! I am, my dear heart, your ever affectionate father,

FR. ROFFEN*.

CCCLIV. To Mr. MORICE.

DEAR MR. MORICE,

Dec. 24, 1726.

Jan. 4, 1727.

I WAS glad to hear by yours of Dec. $\frac{7}{8}$, that you were all well. I continue so, notwithstanding the late cold weather. I have heard nothing as yet of the books, rhubarb, &c. I saw by your advertisement that Gulliver was a book much out of your way ; but could not tell what to make of it. I shall long till it is with me. There are other copies of it here, but I cannot get at them. I should be glad you would enquire, and send me word, who was the author of a copy of verses on Lord Cadogan †, printed in one of the English newspapers about a fortnight ago. Your Twitnam friend ‡ can certainly tell you. There is a particular turn in them that makes me inquisitive after the writer. I hope it is one I do not know, that I may have the satisfaction to think that some new pen is arising, that promises to be in any degree like those I do ; therefore pray fail not to find out the person.

* " This day is published, An Enquiry into the Nature and Place of Hell. By Tobias Swinden, M. A. late rector of Cuxton in Kent. Dedicated to Dr. Atterbury, late Lord Bishop of Rochester, 8vo, 2d Edition." Post Boy, Dec. 29, 1726. — This Dedication originally written in 1714, shall be given in the " Illustrations" at the end of this volume, N^o VIII.

† This was " Tickell's poem, " On the Death of the Earl of Cadogan," July 17, 1726.

‡ Mr. Pope.

Mention

Mention not to me that good-for-nothing creature that is gone the long voyage : I cannot think of him with patience, or indeed without a fruitless concern, which I had rather avoid *. He never writ me a line before or after he went a-ship-board. God forgive him ; and alter him, if it be possible ; as I think it is not, without a miracle."

Whenever I see you again, you must bring over with you what is necessary to make the settlement according to my mind ; so that he may have the landed estate, either that I now enjoy, or that shall descend to me, settled upon him for life ; i. e. upon trustees for his use, in such a manner, as that it shall not be in his

* The following remarkable Advertisement appeared in the Whitehall Evening Post, Jan. 5, 1726-7.

" This day is published (never before printed), ATTERBURYANA, being Miscellanies, by the late Bishop of Rochester ; (Mr. Prior, Mr. Pope, James Moore, Esq. Mr. Waller, Sir John Suckling, Captain H——gs, &c.)

A Prelate for Wit, and for Eloquence fam'd
Apollo soon miss'd, and he needs not be nam'd ;
Since amidst a whole Bench of which *some* are so bright,
Not one of them shines so learn'd and polite.

D. Buckingham, Sess. of Poets, 1729.

Printed for C. Norris, at the Bible and Rose near the Chapter-house in St. Paul's Church-yard ; and H. Curll, against Catherine street in the Strand. Price 2s. 6d. Where may be had, Bishop Atterbury's Life from his Birth to his Banishment. By the Rev. Mr. Stackhouse. Price 2s. 6d."

A very small portion of the above volume was by our Bishop ; but to that small part appears this short attestation :

" N. B. These Pieces (in the abovementioned Collection) are the genuine performance of my Father the late Bishop of Rochester.

OSBORN ATTERBURY."

The above Advertisement was continued for some days in several of the public papers ; except that the name of " James Moore Esq." was changed to " Philaretus ;" and the following apology subjoined : " P. S. By mistake the name of James Moore, Esq. was inserted (instead of that of Philaretus) entirely without his knowledge or consent. H. CURLL."

power

power to spend above the annual income; nor to be able to make a jointure, without marrying with the express consent either of me while I live, or, after my death, under the hands and seals of some persons to be nominated by me; of which you and your wife shall be two. If he marries with such consent, then a settlement to be made of the land upon his eldest son, with proper portions assigned to younger children; remainder (for want of male heirs of such marriage) to Mrs. Morice's eldest son. This is, and ever has been, my intention*; and I desire you to assist me towards getting it executed in the strongest manner the law of England prescribes. And if you want any farther instructions on that head, or any of the draughts I have, the bearer at his return (or, if he stays long on your side, some other sure hand that you can entirely trust,) will convey to me your desires on that head, and I shall comply with them.

As to the personal estate, I desire you would satisfy me by the bearer, or some other sure hand, how every part of it is at present employed, and in what condition I am as to the whole, and all particulars; for I intend, when I see you, to make a new will, and settle it on Mrs. Morice and her children; nor shall her brother have a single penny of it.

His past behaviour will entirely justify what I shall do in that respect; and I have no doubts about it.

* The will which is printed in the third volume of this Collection, and was proved after the Bishop's death, was of an earlier date. We may presume, therefore, that he did not make any other after the date of this letter. A memorandum, by way of codicil to it, is dated June 30, 1729.

I was

I was willing to make use of this opportunity, because I cared not to expose my little affairs, by writing letters by the public post, which, I take it for granted, are constantly opened. My blessing to dear Mrs. Morice and all of you. I wrote two letters lately to her and to you under the same cover. I continue well; and hope I may still continue so; but, that being uncertain, shall not be easy till I have finished this settlement. Sixty-five is coming on the beginning of March next; and, notwithstanding my seeming health, I ought not to dally any longer in a point of such moment.

Adieu! and believe me, your and her ever most affectionate father,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCLV. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

Holland-house, Jan. 2, 1726-7.

I WISH you many happy new years—if my wish succeeds, I shall be happy. You should have heard from me sooner, but that I have been, and still am, at a loss what answer to give to the last letter you sent me; a letter so full of tenderness and affection, expressed in a way so peculiar to yourself, that I know not what acknowledgements to make for it. Every line of it has made its due impression upon me; and as they say gratitude pays all debts, I am sure my heart overflows with gratitude to you. I begin the new year with a tender of my duty to you, and please myself with the thoughts of seeing you before it be very far advanced. I hope then to find you in as good a state of health as you tell me you now are; and the oftener I receive such accounts,

counts, the oftener I shall be pleased. I am really well beyond expectation, and begin to think there is something in sympathy, since you are so well at Paris, and I the same here: the likeliest way for me to continue so, is to hear often that you are so. All my little ones too are well; but we have lost one relation, for my uncle Atterbury*, the lawyer, died last week. Mr. Morice sends you his humble duty and compliments on the new year; and believe me, dear Papa, with true affection, your ever dutiful and obedient daughter,

MARY MORICE.

CCCLVI. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

March ²/₂₀, 1726-7.

I DEFERRED writing to you for some time, intending to take the opportunity of congratulating you on your birth-day; but company came, and prevented me. I was in hopes this year would have treated you as favourably as the last; but, by a letter from Paris, we find the gout has seized you in your right hand, and given you a good deal of pain: however, as it tells us the fit was almost over, and going off, I am willing to fancy it may be of advantage, and prove a remedy against any further attack this season. It will greatly add to the pleasure of my journey, to think I shall find you in good health; and if you should enjoy it, it will double the satisfaction I shall have in being with you. In a day or two Mr. Morice designs to ap-

* Q. Who and what was he? I have searched in vain through many contemporary news-papers, and at the Prerogative office.
ply

ply for leave *, and we propose setting out the week after Easter. I wish the time was come, for it seems an age to me since I was with you.

All my little family is well; and I keep myself so, with the hopes of seeing you soon. Believe me ever, dear Papa, your most dutiful and affectionate daughter,

MARY MORICE.

CCCLVII. To Mr. WILLIAMS.

[March, 1726-7.]

I FIND neither you nor Pere Courayer † understand what I writ to him.

What was included in the Parathesis was only a reason to shew him why I desired him to say *presque toutes* instead of “*toutes les revolutions* ;” since *all* revolutions of that kind were not made in an irregular and disorderly manner—to be sure the Christian religion was not so introduced.

Tell him so when you call for his letter; and do not think me so absurd as to have proposed to him such an insertion. How could he, or you, believe me capable of it? but your head at present is otherwise employed!

FR. ROFFEN.

* This the Act of Parliament rendered indispensable. See the *Licence* in p. 341.

† Of whom see pp. 337. 349. 352. This letter relates probably to a passage in Courayer's Defence of his “*Dissertation on the Validity of English Ordinations*.” An English translation of it was published in two volumes, 8vo, 1728; in which the following passage occurs: “*Bating some occasional excesses from which great revolutions are never exempted, those Princes [the Kings of England since the Reformation] have hardly ever claimed any prerogatives but such as most ancient Princes have often made use of.*” See a good epitome of this “*Defence*,” in “*The Present State of the Republic of Letters*,” 1728,” vol. I. p. 135, & seqq.

CCCLVIII. To Mr. THIRIOT *.

[1727.]

THE Book † I now restore you gave me pleasure when I read it. The turn is natural and familiar, and there is an air of truth in all he says; but, I think, not the hand of a master. He tells his tale, not like a man who knows any thing of the rules of writing well, but as an easy companion at a table. I say of his style, what he says of his figure, “Ma figure, qui n’étoit pas
 “dépaisante, quoique je ne fusse pas du premier ordre
 “des gens bien faites.” Though not of the first (or even second) order of good writers, he is yet agreeable. . . . I cannot possibly digest his taking notice, p. 145, of the Chevalier de Rohan’s fine legs: an observation that I should have expected rather from the pen of a fine lady, and shews that the Marquis was in his nature a little too intent on such trifles. He is sensible of it, and excuses himself in the words which follow; but that excuse serves only to shew the strength of the impression he was under in this respect, since he had judgement enough to see the fault, and commits it notwithstanding. Though I see he is manifestly piqued against Lewis XIV. and his Minister Louvois, yet I am apt to believe him in all he says of both of them. His resentment seems to carry him no farther than to give him the privilege of speaking what he knew to be true; and, as the world goes, he that allows himself to censure the great even thus far, must say a great deal of ill of them.

FR. ROFFEN.

* An ingenious French gentleman, for whom the Bishop had a great esteem.

† *Memoirs & Reflexions sur les principaux Evénemens du Regne de Louis XIV.*

CCCLIX.

CCCLIX. To Mr. THIRIOT.

[1727.]

ROUSSEAU * appears to me still a greater Poet, the more I consider him. His talents are unconfined, and enable him, in every sort of writing to which he turns himself, equally to excel. But the old hard words he makes use of puzzle me often (who care not to consult a Dictionary), and chiefly in his Allegories. —Chaulieu†, La Fare, and Chapelle‡, have many graces of

* The name of this illustrious Poet is now so much absorbed by that of his still more famous name-fake John-James, that it may be necessary to observe the person here mentioned was John-Baptist Rousseau. He was born at Paris in 1669, the son of a shoemaker; discovered early a taste for Poetry; and at twenty was eminently distinguished in that line. He was secretary to the embassy in Denmark 1688; and afterward visited this country as secretary to Marshal Tallard; was a member of the Academy of Belles Lettres and Inscriptions in 1701; and having acquired the reputation of a first-rate Poet, was on the point of obtaining a seat in the French Academy, and Boileau's pension; when, on account of some exceptionable verses (which he ever, even till the moment of his death, denied to be his) he was banished the kingdom by an arret of Parliament. He then retired, first to Switzerland, then to Brussels, and in 1721 was in London, where he recruited his finances by publishing his Poems in two quarto volumes; but placing his whole stock in the funds of the Emperor's company at Ostend, was again reduced to the necessity of a dependance for which his disposition was ill suited. After various struggles with fortune, he died of an apoplexy, March 17, 1741. A beautiful edition of his works was published by his executor, in three quarto volumes, at Paris, in 1743.

† A Poet whose reputation stands deservedly high with his countrymen, and who has been frequently imitated by eminent English Writers.

‡ Claude Emanuel Lullier, surnamed Chapelle; an intimate friend of Moliere, and said to have been one of the pleasantest,

of the easy and natural style, but I do not think them so perfect in their way as Rousseau is in his ; nor (to tell
you

fantest, and at the same time one of the most voluptuous men of his age. He died in 1686, aged 65. Various anecdotes of him are preserved.—The Duke de Brissac, going to spend some time at his seat, prevailed upon Chapelle to give him his company. On the fourth day, about noon, reaching Angiers, where they were to rest that day, Chapelle paid a visit to an Epicurean Prebendary. The next day, when the coach was ready, Chapelle told the Duke, he could not attend him, for that opening an old Plutarch which lay upon his friend's table, the passage his eye fell upon was, "Whoever attends the Great forfeits his freedom." And though the Duke condescendingly told him, "that he considered him only as his friend, and "that he should have the ruling of every thing at his house;" all he could get from him was, "that Plutarch had said so, "and that it was not his fault; but back to Paris he would go." upon which, at parting, the Duke said, "You Wits either "abound in pride, or want common sense."—Being one day at dinner at the table of an intimate friend, a Nobleman came in from court, and abruptly sat down by Chapelle, who found himself crowded by this approximation. After pouring forth a flood of court-news, "There are some rascally rhymers," adds the Lord, "who have the effrontery "to make songs upon persons of rank; but if I knew them, "I would cane them so, that they should never endure the "name of a song; by the mass would I." Chapelle, out of patience at such discourse, and being crowded, starts up, and turning his back, said, "There, strike, and be gone!" The Nobleman was stunned at this folly of Chapelle, yet could not but be pleased with it, and gave him elbow-room; after which, the entertainment was continued with a general good-humour and festivity—Boileau having a value for Chapelle, and meeting him one day, told him, "That his inordinate love "of the bottle was of infinite prejudice to him;" and this with such a friendly air, that Chapelle seemed seriously affected, and promised to lay his advice to heart; but unluckily they had met just by a tavern; "Come," says Chapelle, "standing does not agree with either of us, so let us go into this tavern; there you may commodiously go through with the point, and I shall be a very docile hearer." Boileau, eager to complete Chapelle's conversion, led the way; but the
issue

you the truth) do I take such pleasure in reading them. The letters particularly of Chaulieu, &c. are not master-pieces in their kind; and many of his little copies of verses have nothing extraordinary in them. The copy which touched me most is the Ode on Fontenay,

“Muses qui dans ce lieu champêtre,” &c.

I cannot but observe, that under all Chaulieu's seeming gaiety, there is an air of melancholy, which breaks out by fits, and shews he was not at ease in his own mind. He endeavours to conceal it, and acts the brave; but his readers, with a little penetration, may see through the disguise. The fears of death haunt him perpetually, and appear even in those places where he says he is not afraid of it. I should be glad to know how he died, whether with the same courage he commends in Lady Mazarin. I should guess not, by the observations I have made of him. FR. ROFFEN.

CCCLX. To Mr. THIRIOT.

[1727.]

THIS Book *, I find, was written two and thirty years ago, and therefore it is no wonder that it should not be equal to the later performances of the

issue little corresponded with the design; for preacher and hearer so fuddled themselves, that they were sent home in separate coaches.—Boileau and several other Wits, among the rest Chapelle, were invited to a supper, where Boileau read several passages of his *Lutrin*; but Chapelle, heated with the good cheer, put in his word several times to find fault; till the Poet, in a fret, said, “Hold your tongue, Chapelle, you are intoxicated,” “I am not half so much intoxicated with wine,” replied Chapelle, “as you are with your jingle.”

* “The History of the Four Gordians, by John Baptist du Bos, Perpetual Secretary of the French Academy.”

same Author. One may say of it as Tully speaks of his Collection of Paradoxes; "Non tale est hoc opus ut
 "in arte poni possit, quasi illa Minerva Phidiæ; sed
 "tamen, ut ex eâdem officinâ exiisse appareat." Though it be not of the same value with his other Works, yet it is such, as that one may perceive the same Workman's hand and skill in it. He chose a little contracted subject; and had not room therefore to shew his talents at full length in managing it. And yet, narrow and dry as his subject is, he has, by making several little digressions, and by taking occasion to say many things which were not necessary to his point, rendered it not only instructive but entertaining.

"In tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria; si quem

"Numina læva finunt, auditque vocatus Apollo*."

[VIRG. Georg. iv. 7.]

Whether his Fourth Gordian be a reality or a phantom; whether he owes his very being to this gentleman, or is only rescued from oblivion, and brought again to life by him, let the Antiquaries determine. I am so easy and indolent as not to think it of much moment, which way such facts are settled; nor should I have thought what is written on this point worth reading, if this Author had not written it. In all he writes, one sees the same candour and impartiality; the same learning, good sense, and exactness. If the argument he handles be not of importance, he makes it so by his manner of handling it. So that I could wish, instead of four books, he had written forty: as old as I am, and as many other things as I have to do, I should read all of them. FR. ROFFEN.

* "Slight is the subject, but the praise not small,

"If Heaven assist, and Phœbus hear my call." DRYDEN.

CCCLXI.

CCCLXI. To Mr. THIRIOT.

[1727.]

I HAVE perused the Book about * Poetry and Painting, with attention. It is written in a very good *goût*, and has excellent things in it. I have been pleased with no Book so much that has fallen in my way since I came into France. However, I could wish those philosophical reasonings had been omitted; they belong rather to a Member of the Academy of Sciences, than to one of the *Forty*†, and perhaps will neither convince nor please in such a performance. The Author seems to have gone too deep in that sort of reflections; and sometimes not to have gone deep enough in others, which relate more immediately and naturally to his subject. Forgive this freedom; but it is my real sense of the matter. Besides, there is, I think, a want of method in the whole ‡; and the 19th Section, which is so long, is to me a little obscure. The many learned citations there do not clear, but cloud the Author's meaning. I am apt to imagine that, in the *musical* part of it, he speaks of what he does not himself thoroughly understand; for, if he does, he would probably have expressed himself so that his Reader would also have understood it, which (as to me at least) is not the case. In one thing I differ from him essentially; my fixed opinion is, that

* "Reflexions Critiques sur la Poésie & la Peinture," by "Abbé du Bos." A new edition of it, with corrections and additions, was published by the Author after this letter was written. He died March 23, 1742.

† The limited number of the Royal Academicians.

‡ The Author changed the order and disposition of his work, in the new edition of it.

the reputation of all Books which are perfectly well written comes originally from the few, and not from the many; and I think I could say a good deal in defence of that opinion I see him here, and every where, under the image of

“ Urbani, parcentis viribus, atque

“ Extenuantis eas consultò *.” [HOR. I Sat. x. 13.]

He seldom speaks out where he is likely to offend, but contents himself oftentimes rather to insinuate than affirm; and makes use of other mens words to express his own sense, where he is unwilling too openly to own it, or too strongly to press it. “ Ab arte suâ non recessit,” as Tully says of Aristoxenus. Even in his judgement of the Belles Lettres he plays the Politician. I could not but observe how, in the last Section but one, he has furnished M. de Voltaire with the Hint of his Poem on the League. Upon the whole, I repeat my thanks to you for the great satisfaction which the reading of these two volumes † has given me.

As to Mr. Arnaud's ‡ piece, intituled, “ Reflexions sur l'Eloquence,” though what he says there be sensible and just; yet I do not see much of the great man in it, and had no great pleasure in perusing it.

* “ Like a Courtier. with the subtlest skill,
“ Of words be sparing, and your strength conceal.”

DUNCOMBE.

† The last edition is in three volumes.

‡ There were two famous brothers of this name. Robert Arnaud enriched the French language with many excellent translations; and wrote several poems on sacred and other subjects: he died in 1674, in his 86th year; and his works were printed in eight folio volumes. Anthony Arnaud, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and a zealous advocate for the Jansenists, died in 1694, in his 83d year: he published no less than 104 volumes.

CCCLXII. To Mr. THIRIOT.

[1727.]

I RETURN you, Sir, the two *Eloges**, which I have perused with pleasure. I borrow that word from your language, because we have none in our own that exactly expresses it. By the account I had of those pieces, I imagined them very different from what I find them. M. Fontenelle's talents, as to the knowledge of Nature, Mathematicks, and the Belles Lettres, are sufficiently understood. But I take notice particularly of the art and address with which he conducts himself in nice points, and the prudent and political views by which his pen is guided; a quality that does not often belong to men who have spent so much of their time in studying the Arts and Sciences. He has been misinformed as to one little particular, in the short draught he has given us of Sir Isaac Newton's figure †.

* By M. Fontenelle. One of these was on Sir Isaac Newton.

† "Newton was of a middling stature," says Fontenelle, "and a little inclined to be fat in his later years; *his eye was very quick and piercing*, and his countenance at the same time was both amiable and engaging, especially when he would take off his periwig, and shew his silver hair, which was pretty thick. He never made use of spectacles, and lost but one tooth during his whole life. His name will justify our descending to such minute particulars. . . . After his death, there were found among his papers abundance of discourses upon subjects of Antiquity, History, and even Divinity, though so remote from the sciences for which he was distinguished. He allowed no moments of his time to pass idle or unemployed; nor did he employ them in a trifling manner, or with a slight attention." See a translation of the Eloge, with remarks, in "The Present State of the Republic of Letters, 1728," p. 52.

The "œil fort vif, & fort perçant," which he gives him, did not belong to him, at least for twenty years past, about which time I first came acquainted with him. Indeed, in the whole air of his face and make, there was nothing of that penetrating sagacity which appears in his composures. He had something rather languid in his look and manner, which did not raise any great expectation in those who did not know him. I see M. Fontenelle speaks warily as to the MSS. relating to Antiquity, History, and Divinity, which Sir Isaac left behind him. I wish, for the honour of our country, that they may be as excellent in their kind as those he published. But I fear the case is otherwise; and that he will be found to have been a great Master only in that one way to which he was by nature inclined. It is enough for us poor limited creatures, if we remarkably excel in any one branch of knowledge. We may have a smattering of more; but it is beyond the lot of our nature to attain any perfection in them. M. Fontenelle's praise of Sir Isaac's modesty (and of modesty in general) is to me the most pleasing part of that description he has given us of him. It is that modesty which will teach us to speak and think of the Ancients with reverence, especially if we happen not to be thoroughly acquainted with them. Sir Isaac certainly was; and his great veneration for them was one distinguishing part of his character, which I wonder (or rather I do not wonder) that M. Fontenelle has omitted. His opinion of them was, that they were men of great genius and superior minds, who had carried their discoveries (particularly in Astronomy and other parts of the Mathematics)

ticks) much farther than now appears from what remains of their writings. One may apply to them what was said by an old learned man to one of less knowledge and fewer years, who insulted him, "I have forgot more knowledge than ever you had*." More of the Ancients is lost than is preserved, and perhaps our new discoveries are not equal to those old losses.—But this was not what I had in my thoughts when I sat down to write: my intention was only to express the satisfaction I had in the perusal of what I return, of which I could say more, if the end of the page did not admonish me to tell you how much I am, &c. FR. ROFFEN.

CCCLXIII. To Mr. THIRIOT.

[1727.]

THE Book intituled, "Dissertation sur la Musique des Anciens †," I send you back, is written in a very sensible and agreeable manner, with a fine turn of thoughts and words, as far as I am able to judge ‡. I could

* A story to this purpose was told me by Dr. Johnson of the famous Anthony Blackwall, author of the Sacred Classics.

† By the Abbé de Chateneuf.

‡ However excellent our Prelate might be as a critic, his skill in musick was very indifferent, if we are to credit Sir John Hawkins: "The late Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester," says that Writer, "who, it is supposed, had learned a little of music from Dr. Aldrich, affected to think with the Ancients that the diatessaron was a perfect consonance. He drew up a small tract on the subject of musick, wherein he complains, in very affecting terms, of the injuries which the diatessaron has sustained from modern musicians, by being degraded from its rightful situation among the concords; and concludes with as ardent wishes and prayers
" for

I could wish only that the Writer had been a greater master of his subject, so as to have given us distincter and fuller accounts of it, which would have left no doubts upon the minds of his Readers. I am satisfied that a pen like his would have been able to express the most nice and difficult points of which he treats in a way equally instructive and pleasing, and have opened to us in dialogue the mysteries of musick, as easily and familiarly as Monsieur Fontenelle has done those of Astronomy. The picture of Leontium, with which the reflections conclude, is exquisitely drawn; not only *con studio* but *con amore*, as the Italians speak of the favourite pieces of their best Masters. One would think the book was written on purpose for the sake of the character at the end of it: as the most material part of a letter is sometimes carelessly thrown into a Postscript. I dare say Mademoiselle L'Enclos * was of the Author's acquaintance. Hearsay could not have furnished him with so lively a description of her. There is something in

“ for its restoration, as he could have offered up for that of
 “ his Master. A manuscript of the tract above mentioned
 “ was formerly in the hands of Mr. Tonson the bookseller.
 “ It appeared to be a very futile performance, written proba-
 “ bly while the Author was at College, extremely rhetorical
 “ and declamatory, abounding with figures, but destitute of
 “ argument.”

* Ninon de L'Enclos, the celebrated Beauty, who died in 1706, at the age of 90. Volatile in her amours, constant in friendship, scrupulously just, equable in temper, charming in conversation, and beautiful even to old age; this extraordinary woman wanted nothing, but what in woman is called Virtue; yet preserved the same dignity and decorum as if she had possessed it. On this very account, and notwithstanding her known character for gallantry and intrigue, the most amiable and most respectable women of her time sought her acquaintance.

the

the picture, that shews it was painted by the life, and not copied from another One thing he says of her, p. 9. (pardon the remark) seems in some degree applicable to himself. His words are very good, and therefore I transcribe them. “ Son goût en le conduisant de
 “ fleur en fleur, comme les abeilles, lui fait courir
 “ indifferemment tous les pays, & tous les siècles.
 “ Mais ces fortes d’imagination, si légères & si brillantes, dédaignent pour l’ordinaire le travail d’attention.
 “ Un esprit né pour les agrémens, & qui n’a jamais satisfié qu’aux Graces, n’a garde de s’assujettir à la patience qui seroit nécessaire pour comparer les beautés
 “ d’un tems avec celles d’une autre, pour étudier les rapports & les oppositions qui sont entre elles, pour les tourner de tous les sens dont on peut les envisager; enfin, pour y rapporter la triste & pénible exactitude que demande une parallèle.”

Let me ask you, for my own information, whether “ tourner de tous les sens ” be a proper phrase in that case. To me it seems to spoil the metaphor. He cites some authorities which I am at a loss to explain; particularly p. 58. that of Varro de Repub. Rom. l. i. c. 1. Sure he does not mean the antient Varro, who wrote nothing that I know of under that title *. He is beholden, I find, to the long chapter of Abbé du Bos, where the antient authorities relating to his subject are collected; and he has made a free use of them. But my intention was, to tell you rather what pleased me in the book than what I disliked.

* Fabricius, among the *libri deperditi* of Varro, mentions “ *De Republicâ libri, quorum vigesimum Novius allegat;* ” and perhaps the passage preserved in Novius may be that which the Frenchman cites.

CCCLXIV. To Mr. THIRIOT.

[1727.]

FROM what I have read since I came on this side of the water, I have conceived a much greater opinion of the Bishop of Meaux * than I had while in England, and give him readily the preference to all those Writers of the Church of France which I am acquainted with. He is an universal Genius, and manages every thing he takes in hand like a master. Good sense and sound reflections attend all he says; which is expressed in the most agreeable and beautiful manner, without any of the pomp or paint of false oratory. He has particularly the secret of knowing, not only what to say, but what not to say; the hardest task even of the most exact and excellent Writers!... But you know him, Sir, better than I; and I should be to blame therefore in attempting any part of his character, did not gratitude forbid me to return your books without giving you an account of the pleasure I had in perusing them. Even the Lady's memoirs relating to our English Princess † gave me a good deal; particularly that part of them where the story of her death is told, in as natural and as affecting a manner, I think, as it is possible. It has such a melancholy air of truth in it, as, at the same time that it gives conviction, moves compassion; and one can no more read it, than one could have been present at the sad scene of it, without tears. I really prefer the Bishop of Meaux's funeral orations to those of Flechier ‡

* James Bossuet, born 1627; Bishop of Meaux 1681; died April 12, 1704.

† Was this Mary Queen of Scots?

‡ Bishop of Nîmes, and a member of the French Academy; he died in 1710, in his 78th year.

or Bourdaloue * ; though I think he would have wrote still better, had he imitated them less; for, by that means, he now and then heightens his expression a little too much, and becomes unnatural. I gave you one instance of that when I saw you last. FR. ROFFEN.

CCCLXV. To Mr. THIRIOT.

[1727.]

TH E more I read of the Bishop of Meaux, the more I value him as a great and able Writer, and particularly for that talent of taking as many advantages of an adversary, and giving him as few, as any man, I believe, that ever entered the lists of controversy. There is a serious warmth in all he says, and his manner of saying it is noble and moving; and yet I question, after all, whether he sometimes is in good earnest. Pardon that freedom, Sir; I have read him with attention, and watched him narrowly. I have read all the Bishop of Meaux's pieces that have been procured for me: and will wait for the rest till I can have them from your hands. In the mean time, I will read worse books, that I may relish his the more when I return to them; though, to speak the truth, I know no Writer in your tongue that has less need to have his Reader so prepared for him. Do you hear nothing from your friend Voltaire†? Is England as well pleased with him as it was? and is he as well pleased with England? or does the satisfaction on one side abate, in proportion as it lessens on the other? When will the second edition of his *Henriade* come out? will it afford us a better monument to

* Father Bourdaloue preached 34 years at Paris; and was equally the favourite of the great, the learned, and the commonalty; he died in 1704, aged 72.

† With whom Mr. Thiriot was a frequent correspondent.

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the memory of that Prince, and a nobler likeness, than the statue on Pont-neuf? It will, if it be as well finished as it should be; for

“Non magis expressi vultus per aenea signa,

“Quàm per vatis opus mores animique virorum

“Clarorum apparent *.” [HOR. 2 Ep. i. 248.]

But the spirit of pedantry is coming upon me; and it is time therefore that I tell you, I am, &c. FR. ROFFEN.

CCCLXVI. To Mr. THIRIOT.

[1727.]

I FIND the very last works of that great man, the Bishop of Meaux, are inferior to the rest; but, nevertheless, I would be master of all he certainly wrote. It is useful to observe even the defects of first-rate writers, as well as their excellences. There is an ill-natured pleasure in finding, that, as far exalted above us as they are, they sometimes sink down to our level. The Bishop of Meaux studied critical knowledge late, with respect to the interpretation of Scripture; and was never therefore so true a master of it as he was of the way of interpreting it by the stream of tradition. But, the older he grew, the more admired he was; and that led him to think himself equal to every man in every thing; and particularly to write Books in Latin, and Comments on Scripture, in both which ways I find him unequal to himself; and, I dare say, that is the opinion of candid and judicious persons in your communion.

* “Nor form'd in brass, with more expression shines

“The Hero's face, than in the Poet's lines

“His life and manners.”

FRANCIS.

Our

Our Friend, Father Courayer, has been pursued with *mandements, censures, and arrets*; nor have they, I fear, yet done with him. I am concerned for the fate of so valuable a man, and so excellent a writer, whose views, I am persuaded, were innocent and good, however, in the manner of executing them, he comes to have given so much offence. The twenty Bishops that have censured him * seem to decline that part of the dispute which relates to the validity of our English ordinations. However, they have not spared the Church of England on other accounts, but have represented her in a more disadvantageous light than she deserves; purely, I suppose, for want of knowing her. They cite the Bishop of Meaux, and cite those works of his which were written expressly against us; which surely is a very odd way of representing our sentiments; just as if I should quote Monsieur Claude's words, from any pieces of his

* This alludes to "A Censure upon the Books of Brother Peter Francis Le Courayer, Canon Regular of St. Genevieve, intituled, 'A Dissertation on the Validity of the English Ordinations;' and 'A Defence of the Dissertation on the Validity of the English Ordinations, &c.'" By the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, extraordinary assembled at Paris. 1727," 4to. 39 pages. The assembly was held in the palace of the abbey of St. Germain des Prez; is dated Aug. 22, 1727; and subscribed by Cardinal de Bissy, Bishop of Meaux, the Archbishop of Sens, the Archbishop of Cambray, and the Bishops of Uzes, Viviers, St. Flour, Evreux, St. Pons, Soissons, Saintes, Ricux, Avranche, Orange, Mirepoix, Cha'on, Lectoure, Laon, Boulogne, Rennes, and Ruy. There are above 120 Bishops in France. It appears from the "Censure," that Father Courayer had printed, after the publication of his "Defence," a "Letter to Abbé Gerardin," and another "Letter to Cardinal Noailles," dated March 11, 1726-7; and notwithstanding this last letter, in which the Author makes his apology, the Prelates still thought fit to censure his Notes. "New Memoirs of Literature, 1727," vol. VI. p. 264.

written against the Church of France, to prove what she held in any doctrine of importance. I should think it became me rather to produce the Writers of that Church, and the acts and monuments of it, for my vouchers. The twenty Bishops have taken this method once or twice; and if they had taken it always, they would have been less liable to be mistaken in their representations of us. What the Bishop of Meaux says with regard to our polity and affairs, is not always to be relied on; for he was not a master of that subject. He was a very great man; nor would he have lessened his character, not to have aimed something at seeming to know what he really did not in matters that lay a little out of his compass. Excuse the freedom I take with the censurers, and the authority on which they build in relation to our matters; because I have good reason to think that they have paid a deference to it at the expence of truth. My knowledge is very limited; and yet it would be no presumption in me to say, that I know better than the Bishop of Meaux did, what is the constitution, and what are the principles and tenets, of the Church of England. But enough of these reflections, into which the mention of Father Courayer has led me. FR. KOFFER.

CCCLXVII. To Mr. MORICE,

DEAR MR. MORICE,

March 31
April 11, 1727.

IF you have obtained your sign manual *, and hold your resolutions as to the time of your setting out, this perhaps may not find you at Westminster. If it

* See pp. 332. 341.

does,

does, pray bring along with you *The Life of Erasmus*, lately printed, I think, at Cambridge. It is not for me, but a friend of mine, who has earnestly desired it of me. The Editor's name is Knight*; the same who lately put out the *Life of Colet*, Dean of St. Paul's.

Tell Mrs. Morice, the china-ware she sent came at last, about a fortnight ago: but, upon opening the box, I found it must have been opened before: for the cover of the tea-pot was gone; nor were the fragments of it remaining there: so that some curious person, who searched the box, did, in taking out the straw in which it was packed, probably break it. If she has time before she sets out, she will get me a new cover, in order to which, I inclose a paper which contains the measure of the inward ring of the tea-pot, into which the cover must go. This trifling commission she will be so good, if she can, to execute. Thank her for her letter of March 20; and tell her, that, instead of receiving another from her, I live in hopes of soon seeing the writer. To encourage her, she will find me in a better condition of health than I have been these ten years. The fit of the gout I had, was no ways severe: it fixed in my right hand, and weakened it so, that, for three weeks, I had little or no use of it. But all the symptoms of it are now vanished.

The writings you sent for, could not be transmitted by the post; and I have had no other method of con-

* Samuel Knight, D. D. then Prebendary of Ely, and afterwards Archdeacon of Berks. He died Dec. 16, 1746, in his 72d year. His "*Life of Colet*" was published in 1724; the "*Life of Erasmus*" in 1726. See more of him in the *Anecdotes of W. Bowyer*, p. 97.

veying them to you; and must therefore be contented to discourse you first upon the head of the settlement of my little fortune, before I can do any thing further in it: though I shall be very sorry to be forced to defer that matter much longer, notwithstanding the measure of health I at present enjoy.

The diamond ring was delivered safe to me; and the bringer, I found, was pleased with the reception he had met with.

I hope Ward* has paid his 500 l. I had the first part of Gulliver's Travels, but not the second: however, it has been lent me here, and I have had the pleasure of reading it. Both parts are now translating here, though the French will not be able to relish the humour of that piece†, nor understand the meaning of it.

God send you and Mrs. Morice a good journey. My blessing and love to her, you, and your little family! I am yours most affectionately, FR. ROFFEN.

* The Ward, no doubt, who is immortalized in the Dunciad.

† The Bishop was perfectly right; neither *Gulliver* nor *John Bull* can properly be either relished or understood by our volatile neighbours. *Gulliver* was first published in London, Oct. 28, 1726. It was, however, almost immediately translated into French by the Abbé Des Fontaines, and had an extensive sale. By the same learned Abbé our Bishop's Reflections on the Character of Iapis were annexed to his edition of Virgil. Some account of him will be found in the "Illustrations" at the end of this volume, N^o IX.—Our excellent Prelate, it is well known, softened the rigours of his exile by study, and conversation with men of learning; and kept a constant correspondence by letters with the most eminent scholars and persons of genius.

CCCLXVIII. WILLIAM MORICE, Esq. and MARY his Wife, Licence to go and visit the late Bishop of ROCHESTER; dated April 27, 1727.

G E O R G E R.

WHEREAS by an act, &c. [as in p. 263.] We do, by these presents, give and grant unto the said William Morice, and Mary his wife, during our pleasure, full liberty, &c. [as in p. 264.] And we do further give and grant full liberty, leave, and licence, to take along with them three servants, &c. [as in p. 265.]

Signed,

TOWNSHEND.

Servants appointed to attend : { JOAN JAMSSON,
MARY ROBERTS,
WILLIAM WALTER.

Indorsed by me, GEORGE TILSON, May 17, 1727.

CCCLXIX. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

Montreuil, Sat. Nov. 4, 1727.

WE are got safe hither; but this day's journey has proved the worst of all: for, besides the uneasiness of our chaise and the badness of the roads, we met with very bad post-horses, and worse postilions, so that we had much ado to reach this place before the shutting of the gates.

I find myself pretty well; which pray tell Dr. Thomé, who I hope calls upon you sometimes, as he promised me he would. Mr. Morice, in his last letter, told you, you should have a postscript from me: I call

Z 3

this

this a letter, so pray remember I am better than my word; and always am, dear Papa, your most affectionate and dutiful daughter,

MARY MORICE.

P. S. Mr. Morice sends his duty. Your letter to Mr. Morice is just now come: he will answer it to-morrow or next day.

CCCLXX. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

Dover, Friday Night, Nov. $\frac{10}{21}$, 1727.

I KNOW the news of our landing safe here will please you; and therefore I choose to send you the account of it myself.—We waited three days at Calais for a wind, and this morning were rewarded with a good one; which we happily laid hold of, and were but four hours in our passage. The wind is since changed again, so we may reckon ourselves very lucky. I was sea-sick a little, and but a little. Mr. Morice was well all the way; he will write to you from Westminster. We shall not forget the brawn*, as we pass through Canterbury. I am pretty much fatigued; so only add my wishes for your good health, in which Mr. Morice joins with me.

I am, dear Papa, your ever dutiful daughter,

MARY MORICE.

* See p. 345.

CCCLXXI. To Mrs. MORICE.

MY DEAR HEART,

Paris, Nov. $\frac{17}{25}$, 1727.

I THANK you for both your letters, particularly for that from Dover, which quieted all my apprehensions in respect to the inconveniences and hazards of the journey.

You had good weather during the whole of it, and a lucky passage over sea; and on these accounts, I know, bore pretty well the uneasiness of your voyage: which, after all, though it was troublesome, did you no harm, as Dr. Thomé assures me, any more than your being a little sea-sick. If you had been not a little, he says, it had been never the worse. I shall be impatient till I know how you find yourself, after you have rested a week; and whether your journey hither has, in point of health, done you any lasting service. The poor lady next door to me, whom you left ill, got well, and relapsed; and it is now doubtful, whether she will live or die. I mean not Mrs. P. for she is quite recovered. If you are well yourself, and found your children well, all is well. I am upon my legs again, and begin to crawl again, and hope to hear nothing more of my gout during this winter.

The young Dowager Queen of Spain yesterday retired to the convent of the Carmelite Nuns, with two of her women only, and five outlying servants to attend her; and there, it is said, she intends to remain, till the dispute between her and her father-in-law is ended.

Lady Marr* is extremely out of order; and it is apprehended, that her life itself may be in some danger.

This is all the news relating to ladies that I have to send you; except that all your friends (of both sexes) have been with me, and very inquisitive to know how you and Mr. Morice got to the end of your journey. Thank him for all his letters upon the road. I hope he will be so good as to esteem this written equally to both of you. What I said to you about Jameison's putting up things is, I take it, an excuse only of the servant in whose custody they were, and who has lost them: but I was willing to strip him of that excuse; and for that reason only made any enquiry after them, that I might relate to him the answer. I hope the velvet cap is come to light: tell Mr. Morice, I shall be curious to know that particular. My love and blessing to him, yourself, and your children.

I am, my dear heart, your ever affectionate father,

FR. ROFFEN.

* John, 18th Lord Erskine, and 11th Earl of Mar, a man of the most shining parts and greatest capacity of most of his contemporaries, was one of the sixteen Peers of Scotland in the four first British Parliaments, and one of the Principal Secretaries of State to Queen Anne. On the accession of George I. he was deprived of all his offices; and retiring to his estate in the North of Scotland, raised a rebellion in favour of the Pretender, whom he proclaimed Sept. 11, 1715, and commanded his troops at Sheriff-muir, where he was defeated; and going abroad died at Aix-la-chapelle, 1732. His estate was purchased by his brother John's son, who now enjoys it. The Earl was twice married; first, to Margaret, daughter of Thomas Earl of Kinnoul, by whom he had Thomas Lord Erskine; and, secondly, to Frances Pierrepont, sister to Evelyn duke of Kingston.

It

It is now near a week since you passed through the place from whence the brawn * was to be sent ; and therefore I now hope in a few days to have news of it.

Tell Mr. Morice I sent his P. S. which relates what befell the wine he packed up, to the gentleman that gave it you, on the account of the kind mention that was made of him.

CCCLXXII. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

Holland-house, Dec. 21, 1727.

THE brawn must have been with you some days, and I please myself with the thought of your finding it as good as ever was eaten. If this hits your palate, we shall know how to supply you for the future ; if it is not perfectly to your mind, let us know the fault, and it shall be mended the next time.

I continue almost constantly at this place, not caring for the town ; and having little to do there, particularly in the absence of my neighbour† in the Park, who is the kindest person imaginable to me, and at present in the country. Here I best follow Dr. Thomé's directions, of which I have still occasion, having some returns of my old ails ; and which, as he told me, I must expect till the spring ; then I hope to be eased of them, and have so much health as to make amends for many years want of it. Mr. Morice got very soon rid of his complaints, and is as well as can be.

Having given you this account of our healths, which is the chief end of our writing ; I need say little more,

* See p. 342. † Dutchess of Buckingham ; see p. 304.

but that the oftener I hear of your being well, the more I am pleased; and that, as I have begun the year (to-day being New-year's-day at Paris) with writing to you, so I intend to write often, and take that work a little out of Mr. Morice's hands. We join in our wishes of many happy years to you, with much health.

I am ever, dear Papa, your most dutiful and affectionate daughter,

MARY MORICE.

I thank God, my little family is well.

CCCLXXIII. WILLIAM MORICE, Esq. and MARY his Wife, Licence * to correspond with the late Bishop of ROCHESTER; dated Dec. 29, 1727.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS by an act, &c. [as in p. 263.] We do, by these presents, give and grant unto the said William Morice and Mary his wife, during our pleasure, full liberty, leave, and licence to hold, entertain, and keep intelligence and correspondence with their said father, or with any person or persons employed by him, concerning the necessary and lawful occasions of him the said Francis late Bishop of Rochester. Given under our sign manual, at St. James's, the twenty ninth day of December, 1727, in the first year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

TOWNSHEND.

* Indorsed, "Paid fees 6l. 15s. 0d."

CCCLXXIV.

CCCLXXIV. To Mr. MORICE.

DEAR MR. MORICE,

Paris, Jan. $\frac{17}{24}$, 1727-8.

I AM forced to use my neighbour's hand, being a little ill of the gout. It is only to tell you, that I shall be concerned till I hear Mrs. Morice is perfectly right, and I am pleased to find her physician is more diligent than he used to be in his attendance. Thomé has no other failure but that, and is, I fear, never to be thoroughly cured of it; he sent me his directions for Mrs. Morice so late on Saturday that it could not go by that post, but I now inclose them. I have also a bottle of the elixir, containing four ounces, well made up for carriage; and I want only a proper hand to convey it. I hear nothing of the books, nor of the person expected by Mr. Cotton, and wonder much at the delay. All my neighbours known to you and Mrs. Morice are well; and I am ever your and Mrs. Morice's most affectionate father,

FR. ROFFEN.

I am promised by Dr. Thomé the receipt of the elixir, to enable Mrs. Morice to compose it herself.

CCCLXXV. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

Westminster, Jan. 29, 1727-8.

I AM willing to make use of my pen, though my fingers are not yet so well as to let me write with ease. I can't pretend, therefore, to set about answering the kind letters I have lately had from you; such a task would be too much for me at present; and I attempt

tempt writing this, only to tell you, how sorry I am to hear you have a return of your gout so soon again, and that I hope it will be soon gone. As my hand will not allow me to write much, had I ever so much to say; I choose to send you something that may entertain you instead of a letter, and send you the King's speech *.

Mr. Morice has received Dr. Thomé's further directions about me; which I will observe as far as I have occasion for them, and can understand them. He writes in French, and the terms of art he uses are not so easily understood here. But this part Mr. Morice will explain in another letter. He sends his duty, to which I add mine; and am, dear Papa, your ever affectionate and obedient daughter, MARY MORICE.

I hope the good old gentleman at the College near you is able to visit you, when you ask him.

CCCLXXVI. To Mr. MORICE†.

DEAR MR. MORICE,

Feb. $\frac{2}{4}$, 1727-8.

NOTHING could be more welcome to me than your letter of Jan. $\frac{2}{15}$. I thank you a thousand

* This was the speech made by King George I. Jan. 23, 1727-8, to the first parliament convened after his accession to the crown.

† Indorsed, "Received, Thursday, 8 Feb. 1727-8.

"N. B. This letter came to Mr. Morice the day after all other letters by the same mail were delivered to other people, and one even to Mr. Morice himself: the seal was broke, and appeared not to be the Bishop's."

times for it. Unluckily it found me just seized with a new fit of the gout, which I am now but so far freed from as to be able to answer it. Another accident has happened, which has necessarily taken up a little of my time and thoughts. A message has been sent me by the Lieutenant de Police of this place, from the King and the Cardinal, in relation to Pere Courayer's retreat into England, which they supposed me to have facilitated *; and that all the methods taken by him in that respect, and towards defending the ordinations of the Church of England, had been concerted with me. I said what was true on that head, without disguise; and, after an hour's conversation, did, I think, satisfy the Lieutenant, that I had done nothing but what became me. He owned as much, and promised to make his report accordingly, and to justify me, not only *à la cour*, but *à la ville*; and he has been as good as his word, and behaved himself on this occasion, with all honour, and with all civility towards me †: so that I look upon that matter as quieted. But a great noise having been made about it at Paris, and different reports spread concerning what passed in that conference, and concerning the event of it, I was willing to let you know the truth of matters, that neither Mrs. Morice nor you might be under any needless alarm.

I shall be very glad to find that she has the use of her hands again; for her last letter to me pleased me much, especially that part of it which promised more of the same kind, and frequently. It grieved me to

* See pp. 337. 352.

† See pp. 352. & seqq.

find that she had so good (or rather so bad) a reason for not keeping her word. I have had the elixir Dr. Thomé ordered to be made for her, now a good while, without lighting on a proper opportunity to send it. The first minute I find one, it shall come; and I hope to be able to send her the receipt for making it. Dr. Thomé has promised it me. He is here now in the highest credit, and employed by persons of great quality among the French themselves; for which reason I do not see him so often as formerly; though he owes, in a great measure, the reputation he has to the friendly services I have done him. I am not angry with him on this account; but rather pleased, that he is employed so well to the advantage of himself and others: and I thank God, I have no great need of him myself; for the gout is so old an acquaintance of mine, that I know pretty well how to deal with it, without the help of a physician; and, when I really want him, I verily believe he will not fail me.

You say nothing of your children; so I hope they are all well, and that your mother enjoys her health, to whom my service.

I write not to you this time about my money affairs, having not time; and having already writ you a long letter. I shall write to Mr. M——n by this post. Love and blessing to dear Mrs. Morice! I am ever her and your most affectionate father,

FR. ROFFEN,

CCCLXXVII. To Mr. MORICE.

Feb. ¹/₄, 1727-8.

I HAVE the books, i. e. Littleton's Dictionary, Ætop's Fables, the short Grammar, and the construction of it; and expect what remains by the first opportunity.

I have also some papers in columns sent two different ways, in two different packets; I know not by what channel.

Bishop Gastrell's * book has never reached me; and yet I have the greatest desire to read it: pray venture another by a surer hand, and withal send me the piece which Voltaire † has lately printed in English. I suppose it is of a size that may come by the post: if not, take some other way; for there is a French gentleman

* This possibly was "The Bishop of Chester's Case, with relation to the Wardenship of Manchester," which, though published in 1721, might not then have fallen within Atterbury's notice. Or the book alluded to might have been a posthumous work, as Bishop Gastrell had been dead more than two years. His amiable Prelate, who had no personal attachment to Atterbury, whose measures he had almost always opposed at Christ Church, was so satisfied in his conscience, that the proceedings in Parliament against him were pushed on with too much violence, that he opposed them with great resolution; and when the bill for inflicting pains and penalties was depending in the House of Peers, he spoke against it with great earnestness and warmth, not sparing to censure the rest of his brethren the Bishops, who all concurred with the bill. He did not long survive my Lord of Rochester's banishment. The gout, with which he had been much afflicted in the better part of his life, put a period to it, Nov. 24, 1725.

† See what this was, p. 360.

of

of his acquaintance, whom I have promised a sight of it. That gentleman has learned English, and desires me to recommend some new English book to him, to be translated. I know of none. If your Twitnam friend * does, I should be glad he would name it to you, that you may procure and send it me. He knows the books that have any credit with you, and are likely to have any here when translated. I am as much a stranger to any thing of that kind, as if I were not an Englishman; and yet I am resolved to live and die truly such, however my country may have used me.

I wrote to you by the post this day, on account of a message sent me from the King and the Cardinal by the Lieutenant de Police, in relation to Pere Courayer. It has made a great noise here; but the truth is as I have told you. I did not mince the matter to the magistrate, nor am at all ashamed of what has happened, or concerned for it. I owned my friendship for Pere Courayer; told them frankly a great deal more than they knew of that matter, as far as I was concerned; and thought there was no reason to wonder at, or blame my conduct. I convinced them of that point, and I believe there is an end of it. I shewed the Lieutenant the picture of Pere Courayer hanging up in my room; told him I had visited him in his retreat at Hanment †, while he was in disgrace there; and that he came to take his leave of me the night before he left Paris ‡; and that
in

* Mr. Pope.

† Near St. Germain's. See the note in next page.

‡ This excellent Divine, finding himself exposed to a kind of persecution, and that he could not be easy, or indeed

in all this I thought I had done nothing that misbecame me. If you see Pere Courayer, let him know these circumstances.

For God's sake, call in as soon as you can the 800 l. mortgage lent to Roger Burgoigne. No interest is paid, and I am a little solicitous about the principal;

deed safe in France, unless he subscribed a formal recantation of the pretended errors that were fathered upon him, which in conscience he could not do, rather chose to retire out of France, and to come over for a sanctuary into England, where he arrived towards the end of January, 1727-8. Upon his landing at Greenwich, the Lord Viscount Percival sent his coach and six horses to bring him to his house, and desired he might use it as his own, and after dinner was pleased to make him a handsome present. The next day his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury had him to dinner at his palace at Lambeth, and made him a like present: the same generosity was shewn to this learned Gentleman by Bishop Hare, Bishop Sherlock, and several other Prelates. Upon his leaving France, Father le Courayer wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Paris, containing his reasons for taking that step; which, soon after his arrival in London, he published both in French and in English. This letter may be seen at large in the Political State, vol XXXV. p. 147. It is almost superfluous to add, that he was treated with great respect in this country, and presented by the University of Oxford, Aug. 28, 1727, with a Doctor's degree. The diploma, which is somewhat curious, may be seen at large in "The Present State of the Republic of Letters, for June 1728;" with an elegant letter from Dr. Courayer, dated "Hanne-monte, propè S. Germanum in Laya, cal. Dec. 1727." The fine picture of this great man in the Bodleian Library is the same that Atterbury here mentions, and was given to the University of Oxford by his Lordship's will. Courayer's epitaph in the cloysters of Westminster Abbey, written by my late excellent friend Mr. Kynaston, and first printed in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," hath since been incorporated in the Life of Courayer in the fourth volume of the "Biographica Britannica;" to which I shall refer the curious for further particulars of this truly learned Divine.

and would by all means have you call it in, and employ it another way. The 150 l. you expected from another hand should be now 200 l. : as soon as you receive, yo ' I return it.

If the Westminster-school verses * are printed, you'll send them me. I have for some time expected that the thing would end there.

Don't send me the speech at the opening of the session. I shall have it another way.

What you mean by *the proper Instructions for teaching a young Gentleman Latin*, I know not; nor did I ever receive them. Mr. H. brought only the printed books I have already named to you.

The Virginia tobacco is very good; I shall want no more of it; or, if I do, you shall hear from me. Father John is infinitely pleased with his hat, and perhaps you may have one of his familiar epistles to express his thanks to you for it. I am glad the fee-farm rent is come in entire.

You have left me a good deal of money, and I have been at a good deal of charge.—Twenty guineas went, you know, in one gift, and ten in another. I have just bought a new horse for the coach, which cost me 406 livres, and was forced to sell the old one for 12 livres;

* On the Coronation of King George II. and Queen Caroline. A new edition of these verses, with a translation of all the Latin copies, was published by the late Mr. Bowyer in 1761; and many of the translations, such as they are, were among the first-fruits of the Authorship of the Writer of Mr. Bowyer's Life.

"Poems on several Occasions, in which are inserted the "Verses spoke at the last Westminster School Feast," were published March 21, 1729-30.

and

and I must make new liveries this spring, which serve me two years with a little management. These and other extraordinary expences will exhaust me in some months: but hitherto I am well in cash. I told you the brawn was excellent; but some of it was spoiled before I could make use of it: so I'll give you no more troubles of that kind.

I gave Osbaldiston the guinea Jameson owed him.

Of the affair of the person who is intended for Travail, I send you an account in a separate paper *. I am sorry I could do it no sooner.

Send me word, how the part I have acted as to Pere Courayer is relished, and what is said of the usage I have received on that occasion.

FR. ROFFEN.

I suppose the lace-money is paid you. If not, place it to my account.

CCCLXXVIII. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

February 15, 1727-8.

WE heard the news of the Lieutenant de Police's visit to you a day sooner than we received your letter, and I was under the greatest uneasiness for the issue of it; which would all have been prevented, if some folks had not been so ill-natured as to keep back your letter twenty-four hours, for it came not to Mr. Morice's hands till the day after all other letters by the same post were delivered out, and after having been visibly opened, and a seal put to it which we are very sure you never made use of: but these things we must

* This separate paper does not appear.

bear. I am overjoyed at the good event of the Lieutenant's conference with you: we think, since he has acted so honourably, 'twill turn much to your advantage and quiet hereafter, as it does at present to your honour and reputation. Mr. Morice saw a letter in which this affair was mentioned, and in which it was said the Lieutenant gave you great commendations, and allowed you to be a person of a fine genius.

The account you gave me of Dr. Thomé's rising credit and success, is one of the most agreeable pieces of news you could send me, next to your being well, and under no apprehensions that you shall want any physician yourself. I hope that will long be the case. As to my own health, 'tis growing rather better, and I continue following Dr. Thomé's directions, and desire his answer to the inclosed paper. The bottle of elixir will be welcome whenever it arrives.

All my children are well, and in the country, whither I intend to go to settle very soon; and from thence you shall be troubled sometimes with a letter from, dear Papa, your affectionately dutiful daughter,

MARY MORICE.

Good Dr. Brydges * is given over by the physicians, and lies at the point of death.

* Archdeacon of Rochester. See above, p. 100, 101.

CCCLXXIX. To the Lieutenant de Police *.

S I R,

Feb. 5, 1727-8.

THOUGH the occasion of your seeing me could not be very agreeable to a person in my circumstances, yet the issue of that visit was such as I shall always reflect on with gratitude and pleasure. You were pleased to treat me in the most obliging manner; you promised to do me justice to the Cardinal † (to whom I had been misrepresented) and to others, as you had occasion; and I have the satisfaction to find, from some accounts which have reached me, that you have every way answered that honourable character which all the world gives you.

Sir, it becomes me to acknowledge this to you, and to every body. I should have waited on you to this purpose, would my infirmities have suffered me. Since they will not, this is the only way in which I can pay you my acknowledgements.

At the same time, permit me to ask one favour more of you; and, from the experience I have already had of your goodness, I promise myself that you will not deny it me. The Cardinal may possibly have other reports made to him to my disadvantage; should that happen, what I beg of his Eminence is, that before they make impression, he would please to let them some way be

* Indorsed by the Bishop, "Copy of my letter to the Lieutenant de Police. With this English letter, which was in my own hand, I sent, in the hand of another, a French copy of it"

† Fleury, then Prime Minister of France.

communicated to me; that I may satisfy him (as I shall do with all sincerity and frankness) what real ground there is for them, before he takes notice of them in a manner that cannot but be highly prejudicial to me. He will have more light from me in such a case, than from all the world besides; and, from the natural manner in which I shall open myself, will be better able to judge of my conduct, than by other informations. They may perhaps be founded on partiality or mistake: but from me he shall always have the very truth (as far as I myself am concerned), whatever may be the consequence of owning it. I well know my situation here, as a stranger, and on other accounts; and shall be careful to do nothing that misbecomes it; or, if I do, shall be the first man to condemn it myself, as soon as it appears to me.

Pardon the trouble of this new request; which arises from the favourable reception you gave to a former.

I am, with respect, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCLXXX. Réponse de Lieutenant de Police.

MILORD,

A Paris, ce $\frac{16}{27}$ Février, 1727-8.

J'A I reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, & je n'avois pas tant tardé à y répondre, sans une incommodité qui m'est survenue. On ne scauroit être plus flatté que je le suis de toutes les politesses que vous me marqués, & de la confiance que vous avez pris dans la conduite que j'ay tenuë à votre égard. Son Eminence Monseigneur le Cardinal de Fleury, à
qui

qui j'ay communiqué vos sentimens, m'a chargé de vous marquer qu'il en estoit infiniment satisfait, & que vous pouvés compter, qu'il s'interposeroit toujours avec zele pour vous laisser jouir dans ce royaume de la consolation & de la tranquillité que vous y avés trouvé. Ce Ministre m'a seulement chargé de vous représenter que le Roy desiroit, que les Jansenistes ne trouvassent auprès de vous n'y ressources, n'y conseils, & que vous éloignassés surtout de vôtre hostel quelques prêtres dont la doctrine est contraire à celle de l'Eglise Romaine, & qui sa Majesté veut qui soit uniformement observé dans tous ses états. J'ay bien assuré son Eminence que rien ne m'avoit paru plus conforme à vos dispositions, & que vous étiez plus instruit que personne de ce que la qualité d'étranger vous imposoit de devoirs, de prudence, & de circonspection. Monseigneur le Cardinal de Fleury m'a au surplus chargé de vous dire, Milord, qu'on ne vous refuseroit dans ce pays-cy aucuns des agrémens que vous mérités; & que s'il luy venoit quelques nouveaux rapports, il commenceroit par vous en faire part à vous même; étant bien convaincu de tout la sincérité* avec laquelle vous luy repondriez. Je suis, avec l'estime la plus parfaite, & le respect le plus inviolable, Milord, vôtre tres humble & tres obeissant serviteur,

HERAULT.

* See a specimen of this sincerity hereafter, p. 374.

CCCLXXXI. To Mrs. MORICE.

MY DEAR HEART,

March $\frac{5}{16}$, 1727-8.

I OUGHT to have thanked you particularly for your letter of Feb. $\frac{1}{6}$ before this time, and at the same time to have given you new (though needless) assurances of my uneasiness at the return of your old indisposition. I am this moment expecting a letter from Mr. Morice, to satisfy me of the state of your health; and if I am forced to seal up this without any account of it, shall be much troubled. I want also to know what damage Mr. Morice, &c. will sustain at last by Mead's * breaking; for I am still in pain about that article, which, if rumours here are to be believed, touches one he wishes well to, much deeper than he mentioned. Pray let me be satisfied on that head.

Tell him, I have received the two little books he lately sent me, and should be glad to know, the post after this comes to hand, what all the books he sent me of late come to, that I may charge them accordingly. I wrote to him for Voltaire's English Ode †, and his "Reflections on Epic Poetry ‡;" but not for his
 "Hen-

* A goldsmith and banker, who failed.

† This "Ode" I have never seen. What was it?

‡ See p. 351.—The title of this pamphlet was, "An Essay upon the Civil Wars in France, extracted from curious MSS. And also upon the Epic Poetry of the European Nations, from Homer down to Milton. By M. de Voltaire. 1727." 8vo, 130 pages. "These two Essays," says the Author of the New Memoirs of Literature, for December 1727, "deserve to be read by all the curious." The first

"Henriade," which, I hear, is too dear a book for me to purchase. The public papers tell me, I have written a letter * to Mr. P. which is news to me: I have some right to see it methinks; and nobody sure will be against its being transmitted to me by the common post; for, as it must be a libel against me, it cannot be worth while to keep it from me.

I am got well, my dear heart; I wish to have the same words from you. But my messenger is come back, and tells me there are no letters for me. I hope I shall

first of them Voltaire made the foundation of his "Henriade;" for which he was then soliciting subscriptions. He had been imprisoned in the Bastille; but, being released about 1725, he came to England for that express purpose. In a letter to Dean Swift, dated, "In London, Maiden Lane, at the White Peruke, Covent Garden, Dec. 14, 1727," he says, "You will be surprized in receiving an English essay from a French traveller. Pray forgive an admirer of you, who owes to your writings the love he bears to your language, which has betrayed him into the rash attempt of writing in English. You will see by the advertisement, that I have some designs upon you, and that I must mention you for the honour of your country, and for the improvement of mine. Do not forbid me to grace my relation with your name. Let me indulge the satisfaction of talking of you, as posterity will do. In the mean time can I make bold to entreat you to make use of some of your interest in Ireland, about some subscriptions to the Henriade; which is almost ready, and does not come out yet, for want of a little help? The subscriptions will be but one guinea in hand."—Voltaire's "Temple of Taste" was advertized by the booksellers in 1734.

* This is supposed to be the letter printed in p. 362; which, to say the truth, is not much like Atterbury's style.—Feb. 24, 1727-8, was advertized, "A Letter from the late B——p of R——ch——r to Mr. P——. To which are added, the several Advertisements for which Mr. Wilkins was assaulted at the Crane Tavern in Smithfield. Sold at the Pamphlet-shops. Price 3d."

hear

hear of you by the next post ; and am ever your most affectionate father,

FR. ROFFEN.

I sent your husband my letter to the Lieutenant de Police *, and his answer by the Cardinal's order. The matter has rested there, nor can it be of any inconvenience to me : so you may be at ease on that head. My blessing and love to him, and to all yours : let me hear how you do.

Ramsay's book † seems to have fallen in England, as it has done here : for I observe that it has not for some time been trumpeted in your advertisements. A French gentleman, who has a greater respect for our writers than his own, and none at all for Mr. Ramsay's performance, shewed me a few words in Montaigne, liv. I. ch 25, which, he frankly owned, would be properly placed in the first page of Cyrus : " Un peu de chaque chose, & rien du tout, à la " Françoise." Has your Twittenham friend ‡ any objection to this motto?

CCCLXXXII. To Mr. POPE §.

DEAR SIR,

[1728.]

YOUR endeavours that I may forget my misfortune are truly noble. It would be to deserve them to fly from resolution. They shall not depress me ; but I must help to bear what you tell me lies so heavy

* See pp. 357—359.

† The Travels of Cyrus, by the Chevalier Ramsay, and translated by Mr. Hooke. It had great reputation on its first publication.

‡ Mr. Pope.

§ See the will in p. 361.

upon my friends. I preserve a mean, which is the excellence, justice, and fitness of all things in the moral system :

“ Virtue’s a mean, and vice is an excess,
“ In doing more than’s fit, or doing less.”

To poetise, my friend, is no mark of a depressed fancy or excessive sorrow ; but a sort of a comical way of treating things serious, not after the subtle fashions of those you speak of, that would magnify Nature by depressing the Deity ; who, setting forth their necessary agreement, make unnecessary strife. With reverence do I mention these things, and know,

“ How the great love of Nature fills thy mind,
“ And universal kindness to thy kind.”

I am, while thus juvenile, an advocate for, and not a railer against, extremes. Those symptoms strongly bode a second youth, that vapours with a feeble and defective flame ; it is the enervated arm of Priam, impotently raised against the thundering rage of youthful Pyrrhus. However, this epistle, my dear friend, shall not become more tawdry by its not being of a piece ; for I will conclude with answering your last serious question with another scrap of poetry :

“ Whate’er the soul of Nature has design’d,
“ And wrought on matter, is the effect of mind ;
“ The form of substance is the Former’s art,
“ Hence beauty and design that strike the heart ;
“ There’s nought in simple matter to delight,
“ ’Tis the fair workmanship that takes the sight.
“ The beautiful effect of mind alone
“ Is comely, and in all things comely shown.
“ Where mind is not, there horror needs must be,
“ For matter formless is deformity.”

CCCLXXXIII. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

May 2, 1728.

I AM now settled at Holland house for the summer, where I find my health rather mending, and nothing wanting to make the place entirely agreeable to me, were you at a less distance from it. Mr. Morice has written frequently to you, though my illnesses have made me a little negligent in that particular; else you had not been so long without my thanks for your letters of March 16, and April 7, written with so much tenderness and affection towards me, that no returns on my side can equal.

The elixir is at length arrived. I'll reserve it against the time I may want it, which I hope will not be soon, and that Dr. Freind's skill and care of me * will in the end make such remedies useless. I am troubled to hear of poor Dr. Thomé's relapse. I heartily pity his misfortune, and wish it was in the power of any body to do him as much good as he, when in his right senses, is capable and willing to do to others. I am not very easy at the frequent attacks you have lately had of your gout, or that when it comes it should mount higher than your toe. It is not indeed to be imagined you should ever be quite rid of it; a little touch now and then may probably be for the best: but I had always rather hear such news from yourself than any body else, and shall be impatient till you convince me that you have recovered the use of your right hand.

* This was soon at an end. See p. 370.

I can

I can give no good answer to your enquiries after good Dr. Brydges *. He went some time ago to Bath; but I hear he is much worse than he was, and the account of his death is daily expected †. He has lived long enough to be mortified at the loss of his particular patron and friend, who is just gone before him; for on Thursday last died at Bath Mr. Drake ‡ of Amersham, at whose death Mr. Morice is greatly troubled; and as he was formerly very well known to you, so we are sensible you will also be concerned at it.

The loss of friends is certainly the greatest affliction that can befall us on this side the grave; and the reflection of how many are gone off in a few years is apt to make one melancholy: but let us change the gloomy side of the prospect, and be comforted with the thought of some few being left behind, whom God preserve and continue to us!

I think this is one of the most disagreeable letters I ever sent you: I hope you will receive few such for the future, and that I shall hear better news from your side of the water than I send you from hence.

I am ever, dear Papa, your affectionate and dutiful daughter,

MARY MORICE.

* See pp. 100, 356.

† He died in seven days after the date of this letter. See vol. I. p. 379.

‡ Montague Gerrard Drake, Esq. of Shardeloes, M. P. first for the county of Bucks, and afterwards for Agmondesham; a gentleman of large estate, and in high estimation for his many excellent qualities. He died April 23, 1728.

CCCLXXXIV. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

May 30, 1728.

THE day after writing my last letter, I had the comfort of seeing one from you to Mr. Morice, by which I found the gout was vanished, and the use of your right hand restored. Since that, I have the satisfaction of receiving one to myself; which as it deserves my best and earliest acknowledgements, so I had paid them sooner, but last week Mr. Morice and I made an excursion into Buckinghamshire, to pay our duty to the good old gentlewoman his mother at Hitcham *. We rejoiced her with the account of your good health; and she was not afraid to charge us with her respects to you, and her wishes for the long continuance of it.

I need not, dear Papa, tell you how greatly I am pleased to find such improvement in your health. The news of it has certainly contributed to mine, which has grown daily better since I received so good an account of yours. Surenne is a place that struck my fancy the moment I saw it: if the air continues to agree with you, it will rise in my esteem. While I am mentioning it, I cannot but call to mind the owners of it, for whom Mr. Morice and I have a real respect and regard, and could wish you would take an occasion of letting them know it. I should gladly excuse you this commission, and execute it myself in person, but our affairs won't let us travel this summer; the next I hope to spend with you, and in that hope shall

* See the Epitaphs in our Fourth volume.

make the intermediate time pass as agreeably as is possible.

You expect no news from me—you know how little I trouble myself about any—but being willing to supply the deficiency of my letter with any sort of helps, I inclose the King's speech, which has put an end to this session without an act of grace. You have heard the ill news of Dr. Brydges * following poor Mr. Drake †; they are both very much regretted by all who knew them, and have, I believe, scarce left their equals behind them. Mr. Morice, who had a particular regard for them, has been so inquisitive about them, as to obtain an authentic account of the apparent causes of their deaths. Such an account may probably be as welcome to you, as any thing of so melancholy a nature can be. I venture to send it you, though it will revive your concern for the loss of them, as it does mine. I begin to grow a little too thoughtful; so I shall finish this with desiring your blessing on me and mine: and pray remember me always as, dear Papa, your truly affectionate and dutiful daughter,

MARY MORICE.

CCCLXXXV. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

June 25, 1728.

THOUGH Mr. Morice has written largely to you, I cannot let the bearer go away without something under my hand, as a proof of my duty to you, and remembrance of you. I am greatly pleased

* See above, pp. 100, 356, 365.

† See p. 365.

with

with the accounts you give of your health; and to hear you enjoy your country retirement with so much satisfaction. Your absence from Paris don't, I suppose, prevent your friends and acquaintances there from sometimes seeing you, or being seen by you. Give me therefore leave to enquire after good Mr. Innes, who has always my good wishes. I hope Lady Redmond and all that family are well; and that Dr. Thomé, for his own sake, continues to be a part of it. I beg my services to them and him, whose inclinations and endeavours to restore my health ought not to let me forget enquiring after and wishing his. When you see Mrs. Tuke, pray, Papa, make her my compliments. Has she had any more touches of the gout? I wish her some, just as many and no more than will do her good. I conclude you often see the family in whose house you are; it becomes me in a particular manner to have my respects and thanks conveyed to them, for the good you have received by being there. I hope Lady Barbara * enjoys more health than she used to do, and that Mr. Skelton † will keep his many years.

* Eldest daughter to Thomas Lennard, Earl of Suffex; and wife to Mr. Skelton (of whom see the next note). On the death of her father in 1715 without issue male, she and her sister Anne became heirs to the barony of Dacre; which was held in abeyance between them till the death of Lady Barbara in 1740, when Lady Anne, the younger sister, became sole heiress to her father and the barony; she was mother to the late Lord Dacre.

† Charles Skelton, Esq. a Roman Catholic, was son to Sir Bevil Skelton, formerly lieutenant of the Tower; and nephew to the Earl of Peterborough; and was a general officer in the service of France; and died at Paris, May 24, 1731. See a curious incident relative to this gentleman, in the Supplement to Swift, 1779, crown octavo, vol. I. p. 236.

So

So much for my enquiries after the health of others. I shall conclude with just mentioning my own; and I think I may tell you it is better than it was, and that I am in hopes the constant exercise of riding will in time recover it. I wish it may, but not with so much earnestness as I do to see yours perfectly established. I am ever, dear Papa, your dutiful and affectionate daughter,

MARY MORICE.

I hope Father John is well, and wish Mr. Southcot* joy of his abbey.

* "Pope, when he was about seventeen, had a very ill fever in the country, which, as it was feared, would end fatally. In this condition he wrote to Southcot, a priest of his acquaintance, then in town, to take his last leave of him. Southcot, with great affection and solicitude, applied to Dr. Radcliffe for his advice. And not content with that, he rode down post to Mr. Pope, who was then an hundred miles from London, with the Doctor's directions; which had the desired effect. A long time after this, Southcot, who had an interest in the Court of France, writing to a common acquaintance in England, informed him that there was a good abbey near Avignon, which he had credit enough to get, were it not from an apprehension that his promotion would give umbrage to the English Court, to which he (Southcot), by his intrigues in the Pretender's service was become very obnoxious. The person to whom this was written happening to acquaint Mr. Pope with the case, he immediately wrote to Sir Robert Walpole about it; begged that this embargo might be taken off; and acquainted him with the grounds of his solicitation: he told him he was indebted to Southcot for his life, and that more than his life was engaged for the discharge of his obligation, for he was certainly to satisfy it in purgatory, if he could not do it here. The Minister received it favourably, and with much good-nature wrote to his brother, then in France, to remove this obstruction. In consequence of which, Southcot got the abbey. Mr. Pope ever after retained a grateful sense of this favour."

WARBURTON.

The inclosed letter is just now come from Pere Courayer; and very opportunely, since mine scarce deserves your reading.

CCCLXXXVI. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

July 29, 1728.

TIS a true observation, that one misfortune seldom comes alone, but is the forerunner of more. This year has been productive of many. Our concern for the loss of Mr. Drake *, Dr. Brydges †, and Dr. Chamberlen ‡ (still fresh upon our memories), is now increased by the death of Dr. John Freind §, who was thought to be in a fair way of recovery last Thursday; but there came a sudden ill turn the night following, and he breathed his last on Friday about three in the afternoon. Many people will find the want of him as a physician; and I shall, I fear, miss him often, and feel the loss of him, with regard to myself and children. God's will be done! The last prescription he gave me was the use of my horse; I am resolved to follow his advice, hoping it will succeed so well, as that I shall not soon want any other physician, of whose prescriptions I can never entertain the same opinion; nor can any other person judge so well of my constitution as Dr. Freind, who had been so long used to it.

At this unlucky juncture comes a letter from you, which has grieved me ever since I saw it. The thoughts

* See p. 355.

† See p. 356.

‡ See pp. 383. 400. 426.

§ John Freind, M.D. died July 26, 1728. See p. 414; and the "Illustrations" at the end of this volume, N^o X.

of your removal so far off as Montpellier goes down like a bitter pill, and I cannot digest it. The air of Paris has certainly done you a great deal of good, and may in time do more. Try it a little longer, and stay till I come over to you there. From thence, if you resolve upon going farther off, you must take me with you. You know I am no very troublesome traveller, and shall not make the journey uneasy to you; but I shall be very uneasy if you set out without me. Pray send me the comfortable news that you have laid aside the design, at least for the present, and that you have no great reason to complain for want of health. Such an account, Papa, will be a sort of restorative to me, under the melancholy situation I am in for the loss of a friend and physician, who was so able and willing to assist me when I wanted his help. Mr. Morice is very well, and sends you his duty. I am ever, dear Papa, your affectionate and dutiful daughter, MARY MORICE.

P. S. It is a very sickly time here *. Dr. Arbuthnot †, the physician, died on the same day as Dr. Freind.

* The famous Dr. Woodward died but a few weeks before, on the 25th of April 1728.

† The life and soul of the constellation of Wits who flourished under the name of *Scriblerus*. This report of his death, however, was premature. He was alive more than seven years after.

CCCLXXXVII. To. Mr. MORICE.

DEAR MR. MORICE,

Surenne, July $\frac{19}{30}$, 1728.

I HAVE yours of July 11, &c. and am glad to hear Mrs. Morice grows every day so much better: may God continue and increase her good health! Of mine in respect of the gout, I have no reason to complain. But in other respects I find the decays of age grow fast upon me; and am therefore advised to go farther Southward, and to spend this winter at Montpellier; and, if I find advantages from that temperate climate, to go on the next year, should I live so long, and winter at Naples. The only thought that comes across me with some uneasiness in this case is, that I shall despair, after that, of ever seeing Mrs. Morice and you; the only pleasure that is now left me in this world! But I will endeavour to bear even that misfortune with the same equanimity that I have borne many others; and doubt not but God will support me in every step I am obliged to take; and will reward you both for all the instances of filial duty and tendernefs that you have shewn towards me. If I go (as I probably shall) I will settle all matters beforehand to your ease and advantage, according to the scheme I laid down when you were last with me. In order to this journey, it will be requisite I should draw upon you for 200 l.; which cannot be helped, though I foresee what a new expence the arrival of Obby * will probably occasion. I shall impatiently wait for an account of him and his character; and am

* See pp. 309. 379. 399.

prepared to have the very worst news that can be sent me on that head.

I am glad the Bath has done my brother service*, and hope that Tunbridge will do him yet more. My House at Paris is unfurnished; and I have bid the landlord set a bill upon the door, and shall stay here till I set out upon my journey. You tell me of a letter from Mrs. Morice; but I have had none as yet. When I have it, I will be sure to answer it. In the mean time she will look upon this as written equally to both of you. God bless you both, and all yours! My tenderest love to her! Believe me ever your most affectionate father,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCLXXXVIII. To Mr. MORICE.

DEAR MR. MORICE,

Surrey, Aug. ³/₁₄, 1728.

I RECEIVED yesterday your large and kind letter by Hereford †; as also one inclosed from dear Mrs. Morice, from whom also I expect another to-morrow morning, on the subject of your last of July 25, according to the hopes you there give me. Nothing can please me more than to hear that she and you, and all your little family, are perfectly well, and particularly that her riding out has done her such service. God continue her health and yours! and add all that happiness, and still more than that, of which he has been pleased to deprive me! I shall look upon it as some amends for what I have undergone; and shall bear whatever is still to happen to me so much the more easily.

* See pp. 102. 399. 405.

† See p. 380.

'Tis impossible for me in a few words, or a few pages, to represent my true situation here to you. But believe me when I tell you that it has such circumstances in it, as would mortify and break a spirit less inured to hardships than mine. That, I thank God, is not my case. However, I am not insensible of what I bear; nor unwilling, as far as I can, to get rid of some part of it.

Upon much reflection, I have judged that the most proper step I can take at this juncture, with respect to my health, my ease, and reputation, is to move Southward, as I have already told you. My reasons for it, which cannot be told at this distance, are many: but there is one which may be owned to all the world. I am satisfied that my wintering at Montpelier will contribute more to the re-establishing of my health, than my four years stay at Paris has done already. If I stay here, I must lay out a great deal of money in furniture; which I am extremely unwilling to do; and I must retrench my expences. Otherwise, after my fortune has been so many times narrowed, I shall eat into the principal—which I should be sorry on many accounts, and particularly on Mrs. Morice's account and yours, to do. At Montpelier I can live within compass, and proportion my expences to what remains. That journey will answer several other views, which it is needless to explain to you. The Cardinal, pushed on, I suppose, by Walpole, continues to pursue me; and to fright the Clergy of all sorts, as much as he can, from coming a-near me. 'Tis but lately he writ to the Curate of this place, directing him to avoid all *liaisons* with me, *par support à la religion*—that is, in truth, not even to visit

visit me; and so the Curé understood his letter, and has acted accordingly. This is a trifle: but I have good ground to be satisfied that his conduct is the same in many other instances; and that he would do all he could, without violence, to make me weary of staying in the neighbourhood of Paris; and I see not how I can better consult my own ease in that respect, and many others, than by retiring. The only thing in the world that checks me is, the great distance I shall be at from Mrs. Morice and you; and the improbability there is of our meeting afterwards. That indeed wounds me. But it is possible that things may so happen as to give me leave to return this way, before Mrs. Morice can propose to join me; and then my distance during the winter may prove no great inconvenience. Besides, her good health may probably be a forerunner of her not being in a condition to travel next summer: and then the thought of our distance will sit the more easy upon me; and therefore she will forgive me if I hold my resolution, and will believe that I have pressing reasons (more than I can tell her) for so doing. So much on that head.

Pray let Pere Courayer know that it is in vain to write to any of his friends to see me; and that I am so closely watched by the Cardinal that they dare not. He is persuaded that Pere Courayer's escape is owing entirely to me, and acts with such a degree of resentment towards me on that account, as does me more honour than I really deserve. Tell him also what I have writ before of that matter in this letter, and that his friend has transmitted to me the accounts he sent of what the Whigs in England say of me; at which I am not sur-

prized in the least, expecting nothing less from those who were the authors of my banishment. But I am concerned to find, that his acquaintance lies almost entirely one way; though I see not, as things stand with relation to the pension he expects, how it can well be otherwise. Their shyness to him in England is all owing to their desire of managing the Cardinal, who returns the civility to them by his usage of me. There is a kind of bargain between them in this respect; and we shall, for a while at least, mutually feel the effects of it.

The Law-lord* should be satisfied in his enquiries; and told, that I have certainly left the banker, which my Southern journey will set more and more in a clear light.

I know not what to say of Mr. H. towards forwarding the point you mention. If he has any such thing in his head, he will do it, whether I say any thing to him, or no; and perhaps I may do mischief in that case, instead of forwarding it. It is certain that I have lost near a third part of my income since I came abroad—and yet my charges rather increase than lessen, and will plunge me in difficulties, unless I remove to a cheaper country.

My ever honoured friend in your neighbourhood† will always, I verily believe, continue firm to me. But I shall be wary how I strain that string till it cracks; having indeed no other to trust to. Let that person know the everlasting esteem and gratitude I shall cer-

* It can only be conjectured who this is; and as Lord Cowper and Lord Harcourt were dead, it may be applied to Lord Macclesfield or Lord King.

† The Dutchess of Buckingham. See pp. 304. 383.

tainly, living and dying, pay for all the marks of goodness and friendship I have received. They are lost upon me in no other sense, than that of the mortifying impossibility I am under to return them.

As to the dismissal of A. *, I find you do not care to meddle in it; nor am I very intent upon it. 'Tis certain he richly deserves that treatment, by his base and faucy conduct towards me: but, having so many greater injuries to forgive, it may become me to neglect this lesser one. Nor did I ever mean it merely to hurt him; but only to shew that, low as I was, it was not prudent to insult me, as he has done most notoriously!

I am of your opinion, that the aims of the F's † will be defeated, if W. stands—and stand he will, till the proceedings of the Congress shake him; which if they do not, they will strengthen and confirm him.

Pray let me have a true account of those papers ‡ I sent you, and what the real naked opinion was of those to whom you communicated them. I fear they saw the marks of age and weakness in them; and shall not be at all surprized if you tell me so; but only made more cautious how I meddle in any thing of that kind for the

* Some Officer, probably, in the collegiate church of Westminster.

† The Congress at Soissons began the 19th of June, 1728, and continued till October in the same year. At this Congress Cardinal Fleury and the Marquis of Fenelon were two of the ambassadors from the French Court. Probably these are the persons meant by the F's. W. seems to mean Sir Robert Walpole. Horatio Walpole was one of the English ambassadors.

‡ On the character of Iapis; which had been communicated to Dr. Freind. See pp. 407. 428.

future.

future. Therefore be free with me on that head, and desire them (as from yourself, not from me) to be free with you also.

I find many are of my sentiment with regard to the *Dunciad* *, and think the Writer has engaged himself in a very improper and troublesome scuffle, not worthy of his pen at all, which was designed for greater purposes. Nor can all the good poetry in those three cantos make amends for the trouble and teasing they will occasion to him. Tell him so directly, in my name; and tell him, that what I say proceeds from a tender regard I have for every thing that concerns him. I find by *Mist* †, that Pope will be pursued with all the little spite of which that sort of poor creatures is capable;—and that they will endeavour to hurt him chiefly upon the head of

* In 1728, Johnson tells us, “Pope began to put Atterbury’s advice in practice; and shewed his satirical powers by publishing the *Dunciad*, one of his greatest and most elaborate performances, in which he endeavoured to sink into contempt all the writers by whom he had been attacked, and some others whom he thought unable to defend themselves.” See Johnson’s *Life of Pope*, ed. 1781, p. 81; where the history of this famous satire is fully detailed. The assertion of our great Biographer will be justified by the following quotation from a letter of the Bishop to Mr. Pope in 1721-2, (see p. 136 of the present volume). “Since you know where your strength lies, I hope you will not suffer that talent to lie unemployed. For my part, I should be so glad to see you finish something of that kind, that I should be content to be a little sneered at in a line or so, for the sake of the pleasure I should have in reading the rest. I have talked my sense of this matter to you once or twice; and now I put it under my hand, that you may see it is my deliberate opinion.” The Bishop’s opinion was, however, evidently altered.

† The well-known Journalist of that name.

good-

good-nature and probity; allowing him all manner of advantages in poetry.

You say nothing of Sir J. D. *, where he is, or how long he has been gone. If he is abroad, I am surprised that I should have heard nothing from him.

Your Welsh friend † has served you scurvily at last. I am satisfied little is to be expected now from those yearly benefactors. Time will wear out the merit of my sufferings, and their remembrance of them. I can only trust to what I am surely possessed of already.

I dread to mention Obby, or even to hear of him; but expect some wretched account of him in your next.

Upon looking over my papers, I find several things wanting, necessary to enable me to give a punctual account of what befell me ‡. I have not even all that is printed on that head; and have the MS. notes (of what was said and done in the House of Lords) only of Sir Constantine Phipps, Duke of Wharton, and Mr. Taylor.

Pray let me know what Mr. Carte § is doing on your side. Here it is thought that he has made his peace, and will quit his party.

As to my choice, whether 200 l. at once, or 50 l. for *certain* years; I made a sort of answer to it, by

* Sir John Dolben. See p. 402.

† This probably was some zealous friend of the Bishop's at the time of his banishment, who, it should seem, contributed towards an annuity for his better support.

‡ How much it is to be lamented that this "punctual account" had not superseded the occasional conjectures of the Editor of these volumes!

§ Mr. Thomas Carte, the famous Nonjuror and Historian. See an account of him in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer."

drawing upon you for 200 l. But I know not what to say on that occasion, as to loading the persons from whom I suppose the proffer comes. I am not really easy at that thought.

The bundle of papers by Alexander *, which had not arrived when you writ your long letter, came afterwards to hand, as you own, I think, in one of yours. I wonder how it stuck so long by the way; for he and Hereford * went off at the same time. Alexander is intimate with Arbuthnot: and therefore I shall not (and desire that you would not) trust any thing of consequence. Hereford is a right honest man, and may entirely be relied on.

I thank you kindly for the large account you give me of the various reflections made on my retreat. I expected them, and am glad I have not suffered more in people's opinion on the account of that step; which, as far as I can judge, was both necessary and prudent. My new motions will be a further improvement of that step, and such an one as can give no just handle to blame me.

I take Salkeld with me—not that I like every thing in him (far from it!), but because I can get no better. Osbaldiston and Waters are not what they should be; and yet I make a shift to go on with them. While I am in this state, I can expect no order in my family, nor any perfect obedience from my servants; but bear these as well as I can, among an hundred other inconveniences.

* It does not appear who *Alexander* was; nor *Hereford*, who hath been already mentioned in p. 373.

Wharton *, you hear, has played strange pranks in this neighbourhood—went to the Embassador †, in hopes of getting leave to come home, and declared his repentance to him—and to me and many others his being no Catholic; he said, “we might as well think he was a “Turk.” When he found his application not received, and the prosecution of him commenced in England, he made another sudden turn, and is now as true a Catholic and Jacobite as ever he was. These are things in which I can say nothing for him, and which I am in no degree able to cover; for he is incapable of being advised or served by any body. I keep my distance from him—nor have I seen North ‡ since he came to Paris—nor have I the least desire of seeing him.

You writ me a long letter—but I have, I think, writ you a longer. I was willing to take the opportunity of a sure hand, which Hereford tells me will go off next Wednesday.

I must write a word to Mrs. Morice still; therefore bid you adieu, with assurances of everlasting concern and kindness for you and yours! FR. ROFFEN.

* The famous Duke; of whose eccentricities, see a further account in p. 415; and in the “Illustrations” at the end of this volume, N^o XI.

† Horatio Walpole.

‡ Lord North and Grey served under the Duke of Marlborough; and had his right hand shot off, Aug. 13, 1704. In 1722, being connected with the Jacobite party of the times, he was committed to the Tower, but was discharged without prosecution. He died at Madrid, Oct. 31, 1735: when the title of Grey became extinct, but that of North devolved to the present Earl of Guilford. See p. 415.

CCCLXXXIX. To Mrs. MORICE.

MY DEAR HEART,

Surenne, Aug. 7th, 1728.

I THANK you for yours of June 25, which came to hand but yesterday. I have written so largely to Mr. Morice, that I shall be the shorter with you. I depend upon it that you know my heart so well, as not to want many words to be satisfied of the tender concern I have for you.

I expect another from you to-morrow morning, on the subject of my intended journey. Believe me, I cannot with prudence and common sense do otherwise as matters stand; besides that it will certainly contribute to my health. You know how little disposed I am to stir from the spot where I am fixed; and that it must be a very strong motive indeed, and little short of an absolute necessity, that determines me to quit it. Rest in that thought, my dear heart, and be easy under the measures I am obliged to pursue. All will be for the best at last; and the farther I go from you at present, the sooner I shall be likely to meet you again with satisfaction and pleasure.

I will not forget your compliments to the several persons you mention, when they fall in my way; but at present, having quitted Paris, the opportunities of that kind are very rare.

I am pleased to hear of the good effects your little horse, and Holland-walk, have had as to your health. God continue and increase it to you! Let the person in the world I honour most * know, that there is no one in the world more devoted to another, or more per-

* See the note in p. 383.

fectly sensible of their obligations, than I am; and that I chiefly desire to live to have an opportunity in some measure to discharge them.

Poor Dr. Chamberlen's * death struck me, though I had been for some time in expectation of that news. Let me know how the Dutchess † does, and when she returns to Buckingham-house.

I have no material exceptions to the printed papers sent me; those little ones I have are scarce worth sending.

I am ever, my dear heart, in all the vicissitudes of life, and to the very point of death, your most affectionate father,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCXC. To Mr. WILLIAMS.

Surenne, Aug. $\frac{11}{22}$, 1728.

FORGIVE my ill paper, and my short acknowledgement of longer letters, for which I am obliged to you. I am not able, at the house I write, to do better in either respect.

I am glad you are pleased with your purchase, and wish that pleasure may end in profit. Since you are a match for the Italians in that sort of ware, the danger is, lest a sense of your superior skill should not tempt you to be more than a match for others, when you have a proper opportunity. I am not curious in relation to the picture ‡ said to be drawn by St. Luke; and should have more respect for it, if it came in my way, were it certainly drawn by Raphael. The only picture, I

* See pp. 383. 400. 426.

† Of Buckingham; "the person in the world he honoured most." See p. 382.

‡ See p. 385.

believe,

believe, that St. Luke ever drew of the Virgin, was in his Gospel *; and it is a fine one, and certainly like her. That I can look upon with delight and veneration, being sure of the hand that made it. I dare say, you are of my opinion, that those leaves in his Gospel, which describe her character, are worth all the canvasses of Italy that pretends to give us her figure. But, *manum de tabulâ*—enough on that subject.

You have heard of the death of Dr Freind †: a public loss in more respects than one! for I dare say, notwithstanding his station at Court, he died of the same political opinions in which I left him. He is lamented by men of all parties at home, and of all countries abroad; for he was known every where, and confessed to be at the head of his faculty.

I have lost several friends this year; Harry Brydges particularly, and Mr. Drake ‡. God preserve the rest that are left! My respects to Mr. Foster; to whom I wrote,

* “All the pieces shewn as St. Luke’s works would make a very large collection; but it happens that the whole pretence of the Evangelist’s skill in Painting relies upon the slender foundation of Nicephorus’s testimony, and some other stories no less suspicious. The probability of it, however, vanishes, by considering that the ancient Jews and primitive Christians, according to the account of Josephus and Clemens Alexandricus, exploded Painting, as highly pernicious both to the State and Religion. This is farther confirmed by the silence of the most ancient Writers; and merits the more attention, as the Fathers of the Second Council of Nice make no mention of St. Luke’s painting; whereas it would have made very strongly for their zeal in support of images. It is very probable that St. Luke’s descriptive account of the Virgin’s virtues, &c. gave rise to this fiction of his being a Painter.”

Keyser’s Travels, 1756, vol. III. p. 26.

† Dr. John Freind, the physician. See pp. 401. 414.

‡ See p. 370.

I think,

I think, by the last post. Make my compliments to Mr. Hamilton, for the kind compliment he sent me: I will not die in his debt. Judge not of my friendship by my letters; but believe that, even when you may not hear from me, I am always mindful of you, and will neglect nothing in my power to serve you. Adieu!

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCXCI. From Mr. WILLIAMS.

MY LORD,

Bologna, August 13, 1728.

I SHOULD have long ago fulfilled my promise, by giving your Lordship some account of our famous *Madonna di St. Luca*; but, being resolved to provide myself with the most approved relations upon this subject, I rather chose to take up a little more time, than to depend upon mere fame, in a matter that makes so considerable a figure in the religious worship of this country. Besides, a short illness I laboured under, and is now I thank God over, as also the heats, have occasioned some small delay. For these reasons, I hope, your Lordship will pardon me for not sending the account sooner.

There are two histories of this famous wonder-working picture * come to hand; and I believe there are

* Mr. Pridden has a much earlier history of a "wonder-working picture," which formerly belonged to Mr. Cole, of Milton. The whole of it is comprised in five small pages, in which a view of the church, with the Virgin and Child seated on the outside, is twice introduced. This small tract has no date, but was apparently printed in, or soon after, the year 1500. The title is, "*Translatio miraculosa ecclesie beate Marie Virginis de Loretto.*"—Another account of it has since been given by Keyser, who visited Bologna two or three years after Mr. Williams.

none other written expressly upon this subject; at least I can find none here upon the spot, where they should with most likelihood be found of any note. The one was published, in the year 1614, by Tommasio Ferrari, a Bolognese friar, in octavo. The title of it is, "Divota
 " *Historia et Obsequio del Popolo di Bologna verso la*
 " *sacra Image della Beatiss. Vergine del Monte della*
 " *Guardia, &c.*" The other was published, in the year 1617, by Diodata Malvasia, a Dominican nun. The title, "La Venuta et i Progressi miracolosi della S^{ma}
 " *Madonna depinta da S. Luca posta sul Monte della*
 " *Guardia, &c.*" The nun was probably one of the very house where the picture is lodged, for they are of this Dominican order, which is the happy order who has the possession of this relick, though this is what does not appear from the title of her book.

Both these histories agree, that about the year of our Lord 1160, a Greek travelling Hermit, a Carmelite friar, coming to Constantinople to say his prayers in the church of St. Sophia, among other pictures belonging to that church, took a particular notice of this, which represents the Blessed Virgin with our Saviour in her arms; and, with holy eyes, soon discovered an inscription written upon it, importing, "That the picture
 " was the work of St. Luke, the chancellor of Jesus
 " Christ;" also upon the wall underneath another writing, signifying, "That the picture ought to be car-
 " ried and placed upon the altar of a church dedicated
 " to St. Luke, situated upon the Monte della Guardia." This heavenly admonition, you may be sure, my Lord, was an immediate and a moving object for the holy
 man's

man's zeal to exercise itself upon. He presently resolved to find out this Monte della Guardia wherever situated upon the face of the earth, and to settle this Picture there. In order to this end, he communicated his design to the priests of St. Sophia's Church, who were not a little surprized when they saw the forementioned inscriptions, which they had never until that time observed; and therefore easily concluded they were written by some heavenly hand, just upon the appearance of this holy pains-taking Hermit, as being a man brought thither by Providence to be the bearer of this sacred relick to the place ordained for it; though the happy mountain was at that time absolutely unknown, as well to the good Hermit, as it was to those priests. However, the Hermit, not a bit discouraged at this, was soon put into possession of the picture: and many a weary step he took, and long he wandered with it up and down the world; but all in vain, until he came to Rome, the rendezvous of people of all nations, and consequently a place where he might with some small probability hear some news of the long-sought-for mountain. Nor was the worthy man deceived in his expectations: for there being an Embassador at that time from the Republic of Bologna at Rome, who observing our traveller, and that he had somewhat in a sack upon his back, the Embassador's curiosity led him to ask the Hermit what it was he carried. The Hermit opened his bag, and shewed the Embassador the picture, at the same time giving him the history of it. The Embassador, it is said, considered the picture and the pilgrim with great attention; and at last, with ex-

pressions of joy and wonder, consoled the poor traveller, assuring him his great fatigues were now near at an end; for that there was a mountain near Bologna, called Monte della Guardia, which at the top had a chapel built, dedicated to St. Luke, and consequently was the place he was in quest of. This was, no doubt, a great satisfaction to the poor pilgrim, who had footed it many a fair mile seeking a place now near at hand. The Embassador recommended both the picture and pilgrim to the republic of Bologna, who received him with great ceremony and magnificence. And thus the picture and the pilgrim found rest.

This, my Lord, is a short, but as faithful and as particular an account of this famous picture's arrival at the place where it now stands, as I am able to extract out of the authors abovementioned. If, my Lord, you expect any authorities of an earlier date, authorities in or near the time when these extraordinary things happened; I beg leave to hold myself excused, especially since my two authors, upon whom I entirely rely, furnish me with no such vouchers. So far as their authority reaches, I am sure, I have omitted no material circumstance. Indeed, there is a story in both these books of this picture's having been the object of divine worship, even in or near the Apostles' days, at a convent of Carmelite friars on Mount Carmel in Judæa, who are said to have derived their origin from the Prophet Elijah; but as this seems to me to be carrying matters with a very high hand, and has no immediate connexion with the travelling history of the picture, though both the one and the other appear to me equally well attested,

yet, because I would not interrupt the thread of the story by an impertinent episode, I have, as it were, omitted this circumstance. You see, my Lord, I act the part of a fair Historian, and take care to give strong hints wherein I have committed the least fault.

Since the time the picture has been settled upon Monte della Guardia, it has performed many mighty feats in the miraculous way, and which the good inhabitants of Bologna* have been so well convinced of, that people of all ranks have contributed to build a very magnificent arcade † from one of the town gates up to the top of the hill where the picture is lodged, which is

* "Every year, in the month of May, the picture is brought into the city of Bologna in a solemn procession, and saluted by firing of guns." Keyfler, vol. III. p. 113.

† "For the greater conveniency of the pilgrims, an arched colonade has been built from the city to the top of the mountain, which, on account of its great length, may be accounted the most remarkable building of that kind in Italy. In the contribution of the necessary sums for this colonade, all the handicraftmen, &c. seemed to vie with each other in the erection of a perpetual monument of their zeal for the Blessed Virgin; even the very lackeys of the city were at the expence of building fifteen of the arches. On every one of the other arches are the names and even the arms of the benefactors. One side of the arcade is walled; but in that towards the road, every arch rests upon its respective pillars. Every arch is five common paces, and twelve feet wide, which is also the breadth of the walk. The height is about sixteen feet. This arcade does not run in a strait line; but its direction is now and then interrupted with small windings: however, in many parts of it there are very long vista's, particularly at the grand portico near the city; from which one has a view of 93 arches in a direct line, which taken together are 750 common paces in length. There are 33 flights of steps to ascend the acclivity of the mountain. These flights consist of a few steps; and the space between is level, and paved with flat stones." Keyfler, *ibid.*

from the gate about the distance of two English miles, This was done to avoid the incommodities of rain and other bad weather upon great procession-days, and for the conveniency of devout worshipers; but, if those miracles reported of this picture are true, this arcade seems to me to have been a very unnecessary expence; for, certainly, the least that one might expect is, that the picture would protect itself and its sincere worshipers from the inclemencies of the weather upon such solemn and devout occasions, having, as they here pretend, often caused the rain to fall, or the sun to shine, according to the exigence of the times, upon the unjust as well as the just. But as these are matters not too nicely to be examined into in many other respects, such difficulties may more easily be passed over, where there is so evident an excuse at hand; viz. that it was the good-will and devotion of the people of Bologna, rather than either the necessities or inability of the picture to exercise its miraculous powers, occasioned the building of this arcade.

I shall not trouble your Lordship with a long detail of the many wonders performed by this picture; for this were to trespass too much upon your Lordship's time, and perhaps patience, as well as to exceed the bounds of a post-letter. I shall therefore, as a specimen of several others, instance only one, and very remarkable indeed it is.

The Venetians, envying the happiness of the Bolognese in their enjoyment of this divine picture, as well as jealous of the powerful protection the people of Bologna received from it, contrived a plot to deprive
them

them of it, and to steal it away, and make it the guardian of the Venetian commonwealth, which, no doubt, when effected, would add to their own power and strength, as well as weaken their neighbour the Republick of Bologna. To obtain this end, they made no use of open force, for that were fruitless while the picture continued openly on the Bologna side; but secretly contracted with some merchants to steal away the picture in the night-time. The merchants, habited like pilgrims, the garb of devotion, came to the Monte della Guardia, and, pretending to have made a vow to stay all night in the chapel in prayer to Our Blessed Lady, desired leave of the mother abbess to do so. The holy aspect they had assumed made the good abbess suspect no wile, and she easily granted them their request. At the dead of night, the wicked avaricious merchants took the picture from the place where Providence had so miraculously fixed it, and put it into a strong box, and so carried it fairly off the spot; but, lest the nuns might miss the picture too soon, before the merchants were arrived at a place of security out of the confines of the Bologna state, they placed another picture, somewhat like the true one, in its room; but the nuns next morning soon discovered the fraud, and, instead of calling out for public assistance, which, for what I know, they were much in the right not to do, because this might make too great a noise, and consequently spoil a miraculous operation, they had recourse to fasting and prayer to Our Blessed Lady, as the fittest of all the host of Heaven to do justice in a case wherein she was herself so immediately concerned. In this melancholy situation,

the poor nuns, with empty bellies and bended knees, continued for the space of three days. In the mean time the merchants carried the picture, as they thought, triumphantly off, and arrived safe within the borders of the Venetian state, big with the expectation of a rich reward for stealing away so inestimable a jewel. They notified their arrival to the republic of Venice, who, to do more honour to this spiritual treasure, sent out a deputation of priests, and others, to meet the picture in solemn procession, who, upon their nearer approaching the place where the picture was, to their great surprize, smelt an exquisite fine smell; and opening the box where the picture was put, to examine more narrowly into matters, the picture was flown away, and had left nothing behind it in the case but the fine smell, which being so near increased upon them, and the cloth wherein it had been wrapped. All the company, frightened and amazed, sneaked home; and the sacrilegious merchants repented of their presumption and folly, and returned to the Monte della Guardia, to ask pardon of all parties concerned for their crime, which was soon granted. The nuns were fasting and in prayer for three days, as before I observed, when, on the fourth day early, they found the picture replaced, and the sham one stept aside to make way for it. The counterfeit picture continues hanging on the wall of the chapel to this day, at some distance from the altar, as an unquestionable monument of this surprising miracle.

What is remarkable of this picture is, that no power upon earth can detain it above three days from the
chapel

chapel on the Monte della Guardia; for there have been other more innocent proofs of this, besides that of the Venetian merchants above mentioned. They say it has often stole away and gone up the hill of its own accord, and without others assistance, when it has been, by some accident, kept at Bologna upon a procession beyond the allotted time. Now I should have thought, a picture that could thus travel alone might at the beginning have spared the poor pilgrim that brought it hither in a sack a great deal of trouble, by shewing him the way, at least, to the Monte della Guardia, and at the same time made a most astonishing entry; but, as I before observed, these are matters not fit for our consideration.

Mr. Edgar and I went once to see this fine relick, which is all covered over with jewels and precious stones of great value. They shew no more of it than Our Saviour's and Our Blessed Lady's faces; and they are covered with glass when shewn, but ordinarily they are entirely hid. Mr. Edgar saw only the Blessed Virgin's face, and I saw only our Saviour's, by reason of the different lights we kneeled in; and to change postures had been indecent and too full of curiosity. Our Saviour is represented with a tawny complexion, and with black, short, curled hair, with a golden glory about his head; and he is drawn as a child of a year and a half or two years old at the most. They have given the Blessed Virgin the same complexion with Our Saviour. The picture is not ill done, nor ill conserved, so far as I could judge or observe of it. When the weather grows cooler, I design to see it once more.

Once

Once every year, three days before Ascension-day, this picture is brought down to Bologna, with great solemnity, in procession, a vast multitude of people assisting, some with vocal, others with instrumental musick of divers kinds : and it is wonderful to observe the devotion of such a number of (in appearance) reasonable creatures, but in this particular acting, as I think, beneath the dignity of their nature ; for, when the picture passes by, all fall down upon their knees and worship ; at least they point as so many setters at a partridge, and with as much eagerness and attention.

There is one general remark to be made upon the miracles said to be performed by this picture, as well as those by the famous holy house and picture at Loretto ; which is, that a great many, and upon a fair poll I believe most of them, tend to the security of these fine relicks, and of the finer treasures that belong to them ; so that these miracles have a political as well as a sacred influence upon mens minds. They excite our devotion, and strengthen our faith, which, I own, requires great helps, and at the same time they tie up our hands from picking and stealing.

I cannot forbear, before I conclude this letter, giving your Lordship an account of one particular miracle reported of the sacred house of Loretto, having somewhat in it very extraordinary.

John Soarius, Bishop of Cumbria in Portugal, coming into Italy, being summoned by the Pope (Pius IV.) to the Council of Trent, was at Loretto, to pay his devotions, like a good Catholic ; and having a mind to build a chapel in his own diocese in Portugal, in honour
of

of Our Blessed Lady, he considered there was nothing could contribute more to sanctify this intended building, than to have a stone in it taken out of the holy house at Loretto; and in order to act in this matter by due authority, he applied to the Pope for a bull, to carry away one of the holy stones; which the Pope granted him, sealed with the fisherman's seal, all in form. The Bishop sets forward for Trent, and left his chaplain, Francis Stella Arietino, behind him, to put the bull in execution at Loretto, and to bring the stone to Trent. The chaplain, having put himself in possession of the stone, took post for Trent. But this expedition had like to have cost the chaplain his neck; for the horses, the former part of the journey, did nothing but stumble and fall with him, and at last they would not stir one foot, which I am apt enough to believe, for the post-horses led but a weary life at that time on the road between Rome and Trent; but the chaplain, being a man of resolution, continued on his journey the best manner he could, and at last arrived at Trent, wearied and fatigued, and delivered the stone, telling the Bishop how much pains it had cost him to bring it thither. The Bishop got a silver case made for the stone, but had like to have had a wooden one made for himself, he falling very ill of a distemper which the physicians knew not what to make of. Thus he continued for some days from bad to worse; and he had, as they say, certainly dropt off, if a holy Nun in prayer had not found out that the stone was the cause of all his illness. The stone was sent back by the same chaplain that brought it;

it ; who found the post-horses, and perhaps their masters too, in a better humour, as he returned.

Here appears plainly, my Lord, a dispute between the house of Loretto and his Holiness the Pope ; for it was in virtue of his plenary power these horses and these men were put into motion, and their sufferings proceeded from Our Lady of Loretto's influence ; while it is as plain that she got the better of the Pope, and of St. Peter too, by whose authority he acts. This history seems to me a little impolitic in one sense, though it is not so in another.

By this time I am grown tiresome to your Lordship : I hope you will excuse me, especially since the trouble I give proceeds from a desire to amuse your Lordship in your country retirement, and I wish it lay in my power to do it effectually ; for be assured, my Lord, there is nobody, who has the honour to be of your Lordship's acquaintance, would take more pains, and at the same time take more pleasure, in doing any thing that might contribute to your Lordship's satisfaction, than myself ; though I am far from thinking any part of this letter will have that effect, because it is an account of some of the follies and weaknesses of mankind, which, I am sure, your generous mind takes no delight in observing, unless at the same time it lay in your power to reform them.

I am, my Lord, &c.

. . . . WILLIAMS,

CCCXCII. To Mr. MORICE.

DEAR MR. MORICE,

Surenne, Aug. $\frac{1}{2}$, 1723.

THANK Mrs. Morice for her letter; which was, as every thing from her is, extremely welcome. I will acknowledge it to her soon; and either comply with her request, or satisfy her that it is better I should not.

Dr. Freind's death * is looked on as a general loss: men of all parties and all nations lament it; and allow he was the first man of his faculty in Europe. If I mistake not, he was but just turned of fifty †. What have I to do in the world, who am above fifteen years older?

I have caught a great cold, and am in apprehension of the usual consequence of it, a fit of the gout; but have some hopes that it may blow over by keeping my bed, as it has now and then done. I am otherwise very well; and shall be pleased to hear that Mrs. Morice, having lost her physician, has no need of him. Dr. Thomé has again renewed his acquaintance with me.

Pray return me 200 l. upon Waters; and believe me your and Mrs. Morice's ever affectionate father,

FR. ROFFEN.

* See pp. 370. 384. 414.

† He was in his 52d year. See the "Illustrations" at the end of this volume, N° X.

CCCXCIII. To Mrs. MORICE.

MY DEAR HEART,

Surenne, Aug. 1^o/₃₀, 1728.

I TAKE this opportunity, by an honest man who is setting out for England in two or three days, to thank you for your letter, and for the kind instances you make in it to me, not to stir till the spring. It is impossible for you, my dear heart, to understand my circumstances, or for me to explain them so as to enable you to judge right what it behoves me to do on this occasion. I am not irrevocably as yet determined to take the journey I mentioned: but I apprehend that there is nothing in my circumstances fitter for me to do; and, in ten days time, shall resolve absolutely upon it one way or another. No argument in the world is so strong with me against that journey, as the consideration of the greater distance I shall be at from you, and the greater difficulty there will be in our meeting again. You may depend upon it that I feel the weight of it; and that nothing but what arises almost to a necessity would overbalance the weight of it. If I go to Montpelier, I go only to spend the winter there, and *may probably return to Paris in the spring*; and then the case will be the same as if I had stayed here all the while. I will write to you or Mr. Morice again before I part. In the mean time, if I go, what I have to recommend to you is, in the first place, to be easy, and to believe that all is for the best, and will so end; in the next place to take care of your brother, as far as his perverse nature and ill habits will permit you to do it. I intend him

the landed estate for life, both that which I now have myself, and that which comes to me from my brother when he dies *; but to be distributed to him in such a manner, by trustees, that it shall not be in his power to embezzle it; nor do I intend it for his issue, unless he marries with the consent of such persons as I shall nominate. If he does not, I design the real estate should all go, after your brother's death, to you and your children; and the personal estate to be entirely yours, without his having a shilling of it: though it is possible that I may give some small legacies, that will a little, and but a little, diminish it. I could have wished that Mr. Morice had been here, and had assisted me towards the re-settling of this matter; nor shall I be at ease till it is done; and I intend to take care of it, as far as can be done, by will, before I set out, if I can find proper help here towards effecting it. If I cannot, I must still defer it: and I thank God, I am so much better in health than I used to be, that I apprehend no immediate danger of death.

I caught a great cold in the forest of St. Germain's near a fortnight ago, which is now going off without the usual ill consequence of a fit of the gout, which is a plain proof how far my constitution is bettered; and I trust in God, therefore, that he will now give me time enough towards settling every thing perfectly to my mind; though, considering my age, I ought not, I own, to delay it a moment.

* This alludes to a clause in the Bishop's father's will. See pp. 400. 405. 413. 418.

Mr.

Mr. Salkeld has been here almost at the point of death with a fever : and is still in a dangerous and doubtful condition. That is some restraint upon me as to my motions ; but in two or three days time that point will be determined. The public papers tell me, that my brother continues dangerously ill *. Should he die, the prosecuting my claim to the estate, if disputed, will depend entirely on Mr. Morice ; my being at Paris, or Montpellier, will make no difference in the case.

The same papers informed me of the young Duke † your neighbour having the small-pox. You may judge what a concern that news gave me, till the last Saturday's paper said (pray God they have said true !) that the danger was over. If it is, the Dutchess will be out of pain as to the state of his health for the future : for the small-pox will amend and establish it ; and she will have the less need to regret the loss of Dr. Chamberlen, though I considered how that loss must affect her at the time when the Duke first fell ill. I wonder I have had no intimation of that matter from you or Mr. Morice. You could not but think that I should take my part in it, and enter into it with a sensible concern. Tell Mr. Morice, that I will do my part as to the epitaph desired ‡ ; provided I have the proper materials, relating to Dr. Chamberlen's family, birth, age, children, &c. which must be sent me with all exactness.

* See pp. 399. 405. 413. 418.

† The young Duke of Buckingham ; who died at Rome in 1735, just as he had entered his 20th year.

‡ For his friend Dr. Chamberlen. See pp. 370. 383. 426.
He

He that brings this (you know him, I think,) is a very honest man, and comes to settle on your side with his wife and daughter. He has desired me to recommend the daughter to you, whom he says you have seen, and whom he brought to me. She seems to be a modest discreet young woman, and not ill-bred; and to be very fit to attend on some person of quality. If you find her so, and have an opportunity of recommending her to a place which will be to her advantage, I would desire you to do it. I know nothing of the young woman: but, as far as I hear, she has a very good character. However, I leave your meddling, or not meddling, in her case, entirely to your discretion; on which, and on your willingness to hearken to my recommendation when proper, I equally rely: and therefore, if you do nothing in it, I shall judge it is because you think it improper, and shall be easy in that thought. The father I look upon to be a very honest man, and worthy of any little service Mr. Morice can do him. He and his daughter, you know, are both Roman Catholics.

I have lost a great many friends this year: but the young Duke's death would; in my apprehension, be the greatest stroke of all to me. I shall therefore be in pain till I hear from you that all is over with him.

Pray desire Mr. Morice to send me word what Dr. Freind died worth: I fear, scarce 20,000 l. His brother the schoolmaster's * interest and hopes may probably

* Dr. Robert Freind; of whom see an account in vol. I. p. 414: His son William (afterwards dean of Canterbury) inherited the greater part of the physician's fortune, who left 100 l. a-year to his brother William; and mentions his nephew Charles Freind, and his niece Delangle. See the Epitaphs in vol. IV.

die with him. I wish Mr. Morice would get possession of the MS. paper of mine *, which he put into his hands a little before he died ; and would send me word how he took it, and what he thought of it, as well as the other gentleman's thoughts about the verses : in both which cases, I desire Mr. Morice to be very open, sincere, and plain with me : for I pique not myself, at this time of day, upon being able to write well on those sort of subjects; and shall not be in the least mortified, if those persons for whom I designed those papers should not have judged favourably of them. Therefore induce him to tell the very truth, without any manner of disguise. I wonder he sends me no word of Sir John Dolben †, where he is, and what he is doing abroad.

I should be glad to know also how Mr. Hutcheson ‡ does, who is, I think, several years older than I ; and therefore in danger of going sooner. Whenever he goes, we shall lose a worthy, honest, incorruptible man ; which is, at this time of day, a great rarity. But I hope to hear from Mr. Morice that he continues in per-

* On the character of Iapis. See pp. 377. 407. 428.

† See p. 379. Sir John Dolben, Bart. and D. D. was a prebendary of Durham, and visitor of Baliol college, Oxford. His journey to the continent was for the recovery of his health; which he happily effected ; but Lady Dolben died at Aix, Nov. 4, 1730; and Sir John survived till Nov. 20, 1756, when he died at the age of 73. The family of Dolben were in a degree of intimacy with Bishop Atterbury from their connexion with Westminster school; the present Sir William Dolben being the fifth, and his son John-English Dolben student of Christ Church the sixth generation from father to son, who have been on the foundation as King's scholars at that excellent seminary.

‡ Mr. Hutcheson appears to have been the principal manager of the Duke of Ormond's estates. See pp. 403. 426.

fect health. The Duke of O's * affairs will never find one, after he is gone, I fear, that will manage them with so disinterested a zeal, and so much to his service. Bid Mr. Morice give him many thanks from me (if it be proper) for his many instances of his friendship; and assure him, that, wherever I am, I carry about me the same grateful heart towards him, and am in all respects just the same as I was when I left England—except in the point of health; wherein, I thank God, I am much mended. My strangury indeed continues: but Dr. Thomé is confident I have not any stone in my bladder or elsewhere, and undertakes to put me in a way, before I part, of being eased in that respect also: and I hope my removal Southward may also in some measure contribute to my cure in that respect.

Say every thing to the great lady of your acquaintance †, that carries in it esteem, respect, gratitude, and the most tender concern in every point wherein she is affected; and assure her, that it is one of my greatest afflictions, to be under an ability to express this only by words at such a distance.

Adieu, my dear heart! My blessing and love to Mr. Morice! and may God bless you and yours, whatever becomes of me!

Tell Mr. Morice, that I never received Bishop Gastrell ‡, which, he assures me, was sent; but I know not by whom. But I must not indulge my pen; else, after I have taken it up again, I should be apt to fill another sheet to you. Adieu, my dear heart, once more; and

* The Duke of Ormond.

† The Dutchess of Buckingham. See pp. 304. 382. 383.

‡ See p. 351.

believe that I think of you always with the utmost concern and tenderness. If you return me but half as much, I shall look upon myself as very well paid. This, though directed to you, I look upon as equally writ to Mr. Morice; and am unwilling to swell the packet with a distinct letter to him, lest it should breed a suspicion in the bearer that there is more of business in what he carries than there really is.

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCXCIV. To Mr. MORICE.

DEAR MR. MORICE,

Surenne, Aug. 25, 1728.
Sept. 5

I OMIT no opportunity of writing to you, though I have little to say. I am still here, attending the event of Mr. Salkeld's illness, who has been (and I know not whether he may not be still) dangerously ill. His recovery will be slow, and will probably retard my journey till the end of next month, or rather the beginning of next. In the mean time I myself am very well; only I caught a cold about three weeks ago in the forest of St. Germain's, which is now going off without any fit of the gout, the usual consequence of it. I hear nothing from you about the money I wrote for; nor have I had a word from you about the young Duke's * illness. Should he miscarry, it would, as I said, affect me more than the death of all those friends that has lately happened. I take it for granted, the danger is over; because the papers say nothing further of him.

* Of Buckingham. See p. 400.

If that be the case (which I pray God it may!), let Mrs. Morice congratulate the Dutchess upon it, and let her know what pain I have felt on this occasion. However, the small-pox being over, she will probably now have no great occasion to be concerned for his health for the future; and the loss therefore of Dr. Chamberlen will not be so sensible to her. This is the comfortable thought with which I please myself. I hear nothing of my brother's state of health, but from the prints, which say, that he is dangerously ill*.

I wrote last week by one who may probably linger so long upon the road as that this may reach you as soon as that letter. The letter was addressed to Mr. Morice, and a very long one. A young woman, the daughter of a very honest man who brings the letter, is there recommended to her, if Mrs. Morice can do any thing towards placing her in the service of some great Lady, and shall think she deserves her good word on that occasion. I fancy she does, and that she is well qualified for such a post, though I saw her but once, and for a few minutes. She has, I find, a good character, and I hear not that there is the least blemish in it.

Lord Mar † is here in a terrible way, not able to get leave to come home, nor yet well able to support himself on this side; since Lady Mary Wortley ‡ has the custody of Lady Mar, and the allowance assigned her for her maintenance. He has threatened Lady Mary, if she

* See pp. 400. 413. 418. 420. Dr. Lewis Atterbury lived more than three years after this.

† See p. 344.

‡ The celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montague, whose mother was sister to Lady Mar.

does not give up that trust, and hearken to the terms that Lord Erskine * should propose to her, he would put some plotting letters of hers, which she formerly writ to him, into the hands of the Government. Mar sets out soon for the South of France, and intends to winter there for cheapness. Wherever he is, he and shall be sure to keep our distance. My journey to those parts, and continuance there, will convince the world (as I desire it should) that I have nothing to do in certain affairs; as I really have not, nor ever intend to have for the future. I have strong reasons for that conduct, strong enough to justify me in it, without the least thought of preparing my way home by that means:—were I sure of never returning, I would do the very same thing; but shall reserve the reasons on which I found that resolution till the time that we meet, if ever we meet again. I am sure that you, and all men of honour, spirit, and virtue, will entirely approve them.

My landlord, after the fairest carriage for three years past, shews the knavish side of himself now at parting, and obliges me to pay half a year's rent for the house after Michaelmas next, for want of a formal warning about my leaving it, which I gave not till July the 30th, though I left the house May 3, and disfurnished it entirely in June; and I must either be content to pay that money, or have a squabble with him at the Chatelet, which I will avoid. This is but a small misfortune, after those greater that have befallen me. That debt,

* Thomas Lord Erskine mentioned above, p. 345. He is now in possession of his father's estate, which was purchased from Government.

the only one I shall leave behind me, and the expence of my journey Southward, will take up a good part of the money you are about to return. But I hope to make it up in the South, by my frugal manner of living there.

I wonder I hear nothing from you about Obby, who must now have arrived some weeks. Your saying nothing of him gives me but too much reason to apprehend that nothing can be said to his advantage. I am prepared for the worst account that can be given of him, and shall not be surprized at it; and am concerned that you and Mrs. Morice are like to share so much of the trouble with me.

Mr. Waters, when I am gone from hence, will know how to convey your letters to me. To him you must inclose them: but pray do not make them so bulky by thick paper and covers, which are needless, if the writing does not appear through them, as you may order things so that it shall not do. I wrote to know what Dr. Freind died worth; I am afraid, under 20,000 l.; as also what he and the other Gentlemen thought of the papers I sent*. Indulge me in that curiosity. If this arrives as soon as I am told it will, you may yet have an opportunity of writing largely to me before I set out. Adieu! God bless you both, and yours! 'Tis impossible to express the tenderness and concern with which I think of you always. I doubt not the same of you with relation to me.

FR. ROFFIN.

P. S. Send me over, if you can, before I go from hence, those papers about the physician in Virgil, which I

* See pp. 377. 401. 428.

suppose you have retrieved *; for I have no copy of them.

CCCXCV. To Mrs. MORICE.

MY DEAR HEART,

Sureenne, Sept. $\frac{4}{15}$, 1728.

THE gentleman who brings this knows not how soon he may set forward; and therefore I put this into his hands at this time, though probably it will be a fortnight yet before I move myself.

Just before I do, Mr. Morice shall have a line from me by the post, to inform him of it, in which letter there will be nothing but what all eyes may see. In this to you, which comes by a private hand, I can express myself more freely. Three of mine have been lately sent you and Mr. Morice in the like private manner: I hope they have, ere this time, all reached your hands; and for that reason it will be the less necessary for me to enlarge, because I have in those letters said a great deal of the reasonableness of my going elsewhere, and particularly of my wintering in the South of France, which Dr. Thomé assures me will, if any thing can, restore my health and strength to me. I own to you, I have other reasons for the journey; the chiefest, and of greatest weight with me, is, that I may be out of the very appearance of managing any thing for a certain person, who so manages his own business that it is impossible to do him any service †—and I am resolved therefore to be no ways concerned in his affairs; but to live retired, and free, if it be possible, from the very

* They are printed in this volume; see pp. 428, and seqq.

† This sentence seems to require no comment.

suspicion of it. This I would be glad should be made known to the Great Person who enquired after a certain Great Lady about me *, as Mr. Morice wrote me word.

The other reason is, frugality; which, I find, in the circumstances of my affairs, is absolutely necessary. The journey will cost me money; but I shall save more than that by a winter's residence at Montpellier or thereabouts; and it is fit I should do so, for your brother will soon be a new charge to me.

I quit this place the beginning of next week, and go to Paris, to order all my affairs for a few days before I set out. The landlord has forced his house upon me till April next; and I have consequently been forced also to let it for that time to a lady at such a rent as I could procure, and to be an hundred, perhaps two hundred, livres in the whole a loser. My furniture has been taken down these three months; so I must lie at a neighbour's, and be at my own house only in the day-time to dispatch all my little affairs before I set out; which will be about the end of this month, or, at farthest, at the very entrance of the next.

Salkeld, Osbaldiston, and George, go with me; but Walter seems determined not to go, and desires to return to England. I believe he will do so, and leave me in this exigence without a valet de chambre; in which case I must do as well as I can without him during the journey, and content myself with such an one as I can find at the end of it. I go in Mr. Morice's chaise,

* May we not suppose that this alludes to King George the Second and the Dutchess of Buckingham?

which

which will not be hurt more by that journey than by its standing so long still, which has already made several repairs necessary. Don't be uneasy at my going so far. The very journey itself will do me some good, and my wintering at Montpellier much more; and it is very probable that I may stay there no longer than spring, and then bring the chaise back again with me to Paris. Remember, my dear heart, the English proverb, which says, "that the furthest way about is sometimes the "nearest way home." That may be the case with relation to this journey of mine: and if it is not, yet I can do nothing better, with respect to my health and my ease, in my present circumstances; so don't take it ill of me that I remove so far off, nor disquiet yourself at all, my dear heart, on that account. Let our ever honoured friend* know, that it was necessary for me to take this step; and that I have the most solid reasons for it. I have written so many and so long letters lately to you or Mr. Morice about my present circumstances, that I shall add no more now. I have received nothing from him in answer, beside common letters by the post, amidst which there was one that inclosed the bill of return which must carry me to Montpellier. But I have had but one letter from him by a private hand, I think, these four or five months; whenever he writes any such while I am at a distance, Mr. Waters will take care to have it conveyed to me safely.

From him I am to receive a general credit upon Lyons and Montpellier; which I will use as sparingly as possible. But I am going to a strange place, where

* The Dutchess of Buckingham. See pp. 382. 383.

I know

I know not what exigence may be requisite, though provisions and accommodations of all sorts are said to be much cheaper there than at Paris.

I am a little distressed how I shall dispose of my coach-horses conveniently, for I shall not keep them in my absence; and there is no use of them where I am going. For my coach Sir P. R^d. * gives me room, and for all my furniture and utensils, which I bought, and which I shall not dispose of, but reserve for my use at my return to Paris. This is the state of my affairs. God bless you both, and all yours! Remember me in the kindest manner to Mr. Morice; and believe that I am, with the most tender affection, your loving father,

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCXCVI. To Mr. WILLIAMS, at Bologna.

SIR,

Surenne, Sept. 1⁴, 1728.

I AM much obliged to you for your letter of August 24, which I read with great pleasure and instruction, and think it extremely well written. I have no return at present to make you for it, but that of thanks, and assurances of the never-failing continuance of my sincere but useless friendship for you. I am going to take a long journey, and to winter in the South of France, out of the direct line of correspondence; so that you will not probably hear from me, nor I from you, for some time. Whether you do or not, depend upon it that I shall always have the same affectionate

* Redmond, possibly. Lady Redmond is mentioned, p. 358.

regard

regard for you, and be desirous all ways of opportunities wherein I may give effectual proofs of it. I again thank you for your entertaining paper about the picture*; which made me smile often at the folly, and now and then frown at the impostures, of mankind. Adieu! I can say no more to you now, but what I have said already.

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCXCVII. To Mr. MORICE.

DEAR MR. MORICE,

Surenne, Sept. ⁸/₁₈, 1728.

I WRIT to Mrs. Morice, which I look upon to be writing to you. However, the bearer continuing some days here, I take the opportunity of writing separately to you, and thanking you for the return which is to carry me to Montpellier; where, and at Lyons, Mr. Waters gives me a general credit, to make use of as I please; which I believe he has done (if ever before) very rarely. But he knows very well I shall not abuse the trust he puts in me. I leave this place the 22d, and go to Paris; where I shall stay a week or thereabouts, to take my leave of friends, and adjust all my affairs; and set out Southward in all probability the 30th of this month, or at farthest the 2d of next. I know not, after all, whether Walter may not think fit to go with me. If he does not, I must shift as well as I can with George on the road, and take a valet de chambre when I come to Montpellier. Osbaldiston goes with the baggage in the diligence to Lyons, where we meet, and go down the Rhône to Pont St. Esprit; and from thence by land to Montpellier. He leaves his wife

* See pp. 385—396.

behind him in a service. I hope to perform the journey, with proper rests, in twelve days. You shall hear from me when I come to the end of it.

I can say nothing of Obby but what I have said already. If he has, as you say, misemployed the 50 l. and otherwise in no degree bettered his character (which I apprehend by your saying nothing further on that head), what signifies it to trust him with money towards merchandizing, which he will assuredly employ in a worse manner? But all is, and must be, left to your discretion and kindness.

Should my brother drop, I fear you will have trouble enough to assert my right to that estate: but it is certainly mine; and will repay all your trouble when you have retrieved it. Perhaps it may be found necessary to compleat the proof of my father's will in chancery; which I carried as far as publication. You'll find the proceedings, upon enquiry, about the year 1694, 5, or 6, as I remember.

I have sent you six copies of a Latin poem *, writ by an Irishman here at Paris, which in some parts of it is

* "Have you never seen a Latin poem, printed some time ago at Thebout, intituled, 'Connubia Florum;' that is, the Marriage of the Flowers; by M. de la Croix, an Irish gentleman; by way of Episode, like Horace's Poeticks? If it is allowed to judge of the Author by this small work, there is no doubt but he is a very skilful botanist, and a fine genius, who, understanding all the nicety of the Latin tongue, is endowed with a great talent for poetry. We may venture to say, that this poem is like Father Rapin's Garden, and perhaps the chief work, the 'Georgicks.' Letter from Paris, on the Henriade of Voltaire, printed in 'The Present State of the Republic of Letters, 1731,' vol. VII. p. 434.

excellent, and approaches very near to the manner of versification in Virgil's Georgicks. Pray give one to Dr. Wyntle, and another to Dr. Hales, a third to Mr. Nicoll *, a fourth to Obby's quondam tutor †, a fifth to Dr. Frewin ‡, and keep the sixth yourself. I add two more, for Dean Swift and Mr. Pope.

I hope you have retrieved the MS. § you put into Dr. Freind's hands, by the means of your sister || : I desire much to have it sent me to Montpelier. Mr. Waters, if it be lodged with him by the bringer of this, or by any other hand, will convey it. I dare say you are terribly embarrassed, partly with your own affairs, partly with those of Dr. Freind, in behalf of your sister ; as also with Mead's bankruptcy ¶. I am sorry there is such a weight of mine added to the scale, and wish I were with you to take care of them myself. But that cannot be. My health, and being out of the way, are the sole motives of my present journey : for I desire to have as little to do as is possible with some wild people here, whom I am sick of. Wharton ** came to me hither as soon as he arrived, begged my blessing, swore he was no more a Papist than a Turk ; proffered him-

* See p. 91. † Mr. Le Hunt. See vol. I. p. 435 ; vol. II. p. 280.

‡ Rich. Frewin, of Christ Church, M. D. April 19, 1711.

§ On Iapis. See pp. 407. 428.

|| Mr. Morice's sister was Dr. Freind's wife ; see p. 316. The Doctor appears to have been married in or before 1709 ; and his wife's name was Anne. See what Bishop Atterbury says of him, pp. 370. 384. Their regard, indeed, appears to have been reciprocal. Dr. Freind, in his last will, dated March 12, 1727, orders " all his pictures to be sold, except " those of his wife and son, his brother, and *Bishop Atterbury* " and his son."

¶ See p. 360. ** The Duke. See pp. 331. 415.

self to the Embassador* upon any terms, and would fain have gone over into England. When he was refused and prosecuted, he turned Papist and Jacobite again; and after that I never saw him.

North and Grey † I have declined seeing, though he has been at Paris these four months, and writ to me to beg a meeting. I did not think fit, after what he had done, to give him one.

This is at least the sixth letter (and some of them very long ones) which I have written to you or to Mrs. Morice, without any manner of answer to any of them. God bless you both, and your children! I have been in danger of a fit of the gout, by a long cold, which usually ends in it. But I think I have escaped the fit, and shall be able to perform my journey ‡.

Skelton § has some thoughts of going over to England. If he goes, you will remember how civil he has been to me. Adieu, dear Morice! I am ever most affectionately yours,

FR. ROFFEN.

* Horatio Walpole; see p. 377. † See p. 384.

‡ "The late Bishop of Rochester is going to Montpellier for his health. The Duke of Wharton has hired a house at Paris for the whole winter, and is gone thence to Rome, to fetch his Dutchess. The Lord North and Grey, a Lieutenant General in the Spanish forces, is set out from France for Catalonia. Mr. James Murray, commonly called Lord Dunbar, Governor to the eldest son of the Chevalier St. George, died lately at Naples." Weekly Medley, Oct. 26, 1728.—
"Barcelona. The Duke of Wharton, who has been confined for some time to Montzuich Port, was released the 25th instant; the Magistrates would not permit him to enter this city, but ordered a chaise to carry him to his regiment." Ibid. April 30, 1730.

§ The Brigadier. See p. 368.

CCCXCVIII. Dr. ROB. FREIND to Sir HANS SLOANE.

SIR,

[1728.]

AS soon as I can be at leisure to look over my brother's* books, I will take care of those you mention; and if there are any others with the marks you describe, they shall certainly be sent you. I am sensible of the too common neglect in returning books that are borrowed; and how discouraging it is to those who have been curious in their collections, and are willing to oblige their friends with the use of them. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

R. FREIND.

CCCXCIX. To Mr. MORICE.

DEAR MR. MORICE,

Montpelier, Oct. $\frac{4}{15}$, 1728.

IPERFORMED the journey hither in ten days, without any ill accident whatsoever; and am so far from finding any inconvenience from the journey, that, I think, I am already much the better for it; and doubt not but this place will, by my staying here this winter (as I resolve to do), contribute every day more and more towards re-establishing my health and strength, as far as my age and infirmities will allow me to expect.

I have not yet fixed on an house; but shall in a day or two; and hope to be as well accommodated as I was at Paris, and at a much lower price. The wine here is cheap—in other things, I find not that the rate is so low as I expected it; though lower than it was at Paris. I thought half what I spent there would have been suffi-

* The physician: see pp. 370. 384. 401. 414.

cient

cient here ; but find myself mistaken in that account. The English have thrown away their money too liberally here, and contributed to raise the price of things especially wherever they are concerned. I will be as good a manager as I can in every respect, and endeavour while I stay here to save the extraordinary expence of the journey. When I am fully settled, and can be able to judge certainly of my expence, you shall hear further from me. I have with me Osbaldiston, and Walter, and George, besides Salkeld ; and must have a cook of the place, and perhaps a French footman. Here are no coaches here, but chairs only, which I shall not have much occasion for ; resolving to be as little acquainted with the French, and to make as few visits to them, as I can—and from those of our country, you know, I am excluded *. If my health mends here, 'tis all I aim at ; and am therefore determined to live here with the utmost privacy. God bless you, Mrs. Morice, and her children ! Think of me, as I do of you, with all manner of affection and tenderness.

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCC. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

Westminster, Nov. 21, 1728.
Dec. 1

YOU have now been settled long enough at Montpellier, to judge how far that place will be agreeable to you, and answer the purposes of health, for which you undertook the journey. I am told the air

* By the act of parliament which banished him.

is very sharp during some part of the winter, which is not so favourable to any body that has the gout. But I hope you'll have very few touches of it; as many only as are necessary to preserve your health, and no more. Mr. Morice and I have received all the letters you writ us, as well upon your journey, as since you got to the end of it. They are extremely kind and moving, and would serve to raise my duty and affection towards you, if it were possible to improve and heighten either. Believe me, dear Papa, they cannot be increased, and will always remain unchangeable. So far I will deserve the love and tender regard you have for me, which it is not in my power to merit otherwise.

My brother goes on board to-morrow; and the ship will sail from Gravesend in a day or two after. I have answered your commands, in taking all the care of him I possibly could; and Mr. Morice has done every thing he could to serve him and put him in a good way. I wish he would do as well by himself. He is an unaccountable young man; however, I cannot but love him with all his faults. We carried him yesterday to Highgate, to take leave of my uncle, who says he has done something for him in his will*, and gave him five guineas as a present to encourage him to behave well, and mind his business at sea.—He is mightily broke and decayed; so that it seems impossible for him to hold out much longer; though his last journey to Bath did

* He did more for him, however, afterwards; for in a subsequent will, dated March 16, 1730, he gave him the reversion of about 400 l. a year, which fell into his possession almost immediately on his arrival from the East Indies. See vol. I. p. 485; vol. II. pp. 400. 413. 420.

him some little service. I am, dear Papa, your ever affectionate and dutiful daughter, MARY MORICE.

Mr. Morice is well, and sends you his duty.

CCCCI. To Mr. MORICE.

DEAR MR. MORICE,

Montpelier, Nov. 24, 1728.
Dec. 5

YOUR letter of Nov. 1, N. S. reached me here on the 14th, and relieved me as to the concern I was under, lest ill health or ill accidents should have hindered you and Mrs. Morice from writing to me for so long a time after I had written so many letters to you, and assured you that yours to me would find me wherever I was upon my journey. Being easy in that respect, I stayed before I writ again, till I was able to tell you upon sure grounds how this place agreed with me, and received your letter of Oct. $\frac{3}{14}$, which you say you sent me: but hitherto I have heard nothing of it, and begin to think now that I never shall. I shall therefore delay no longer informing you, that the effects of my journey have been as I expected, and indeed beyond what I expected; the air of this place agreeing perfectly well with me. For that I came, and on that I rely, without using any medicine; and have just reason to hope that, by the means of it, I shall by next spring establish my health upon a better foot than it has been for many years past. I doubt not of this news being welcome to you; and where I am, I have no other to send you.

E c 2

What

What you write to me about Obby would sensibly afflict me, were it not what I had long expected, and consequently no surprize to me. God reward you for taking all that care of him he will permit you to take! To your conduct he must entirely be left: I know you will do every thing for the best; and whatever you do, shall implicitly approve it. 'Tis uneasy to me to dwell on that subject: therefore do not wonder if I enter into no particulars of it; but believe me as thankful to you for all your care and trouble in that respect, as if I explained my sense of it on every article.

I am glad my brother is returned better from the Bath than he went*; and take it for granted that your family is all well, since neither you nor Mrs. Morice intimate any thing to the contrary. The money you last returned me to Waters lies untouched in his hands, and will so lie there till towards Christmas. I can keep no coach here, and stir out so seldom that I do not even keep a constant chair. My great expence is my lodging, which is very good. My table, you know, never cost me much at Paris, and will cost me less here, according to that manner of living which agrees best both with my health and inclination; so that I hope, while I stay here, to save all the extraordinary charges I was at in quitting Paris, and removing hither; and will be as careful as I can to keep within the bounds of what I have to support me. I see no English paper here, and know no more of what passes any where than I find in the Amsterdam Gazette; and 'tis well that my curiosity is as much abated as my knowledge, and that

* See pp. 400. 413. 418..

the state of ignorance I am in adds no great weight to what else has befallen me.

This letter, if I reckon right, will be with you in ten days, that is, on Wednesday the 15th, N. S. for it will reach Paris on Friday the 10th, and will go from thence the next day towards England; and your letters from thence will reach me here in the same time, if you contrive them so as to arrive at Paris the day before the post-days to this place, which are three every week, Sunday, Tuesday, and Friday. The English post therefore that sets out on Monday, and comes in on Saturday, will lose no time in conveying what you write to me; as to the other weekly post on your side (that of Thursday I mean), the letters that come by it will lie three days at Paris, before they are forwarded. Make your letters up with as little form and bulk as you can: for I desire not to pay for more covers than are necessary; and they charge me sometimes by ounces; which is an expence that, according to the frugal way I am in, I would avoid.

I must add to this letter another from Mrs. Morice; and therefore take my leave of you, with earnest wishes, that God may bless you and yours, and return you tenfold all the kindness you have shewed me!

FR. ROFFEN.

What you write to me about Obby would sensibly afflict me, were it not what I had long expected, and consequently no surprize to me. God reward you for taking all that care of him he will permit you to take! To your conduct he must entirely be left: I know you will do every thing for the best; and whatever you do, shall implicitly approve it. 'Tis uneasy to me to dwell on that subject: therefore do not wonder if I enter into no particulars of it; but believe me as thankful to you for all your care and trouble in that respect, as if I explained my sense of it on every article.

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* See pp. 400. 413. 418..

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I must add to this letter another from Mrs. Morice; and therefore take my leave of you, with earnest wishes, that God may bless you and yours, and return you tenfold all the kindness you have shewed me!

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCCII. To Mrs. MORICE.

MY DEAR HEART,

Montpelier, ^{Nov. 24}
^{Dec. 5}, 1728.

I THANK you for yours of Nov. 1, N. S. which gave me infinite satisfaction, after so long a silence. I have told Mr. Morice how well this place agrees with me; and repeat it to you, that I could not have taken a better step than this with respect to my health. The very journey did me wonderful service; and I have been far from relapsing since I came hither.

I have heard from Paris of a letter of yours to a lady there *, wherein you say (what you have not mentioned to me) that you intend for Montpelier next spring. I am obliged to you, my dear heart, for so kind a thought; but, though the executing it would give me the greatest pleasure in this world, must oppose it: for, to tell you the truth, I know not whether I shall be here long enough in the spring for you to reach me, if it were otherwise convenient for you to take so long and troublesome a journey. My wintering in good air will greatly tend towards recovering my health; but I depend still more on my moving about in the spring; and cannot therefore answer for myself, that I shall at that time be to be found here. Content yourself to hear at a distance that I am well, as I hope will be the case; and resign me, as I do you and yours, and all my affairs, to God's providence; and resolving to think that what must be is always best for both of us. It is certainly so, my dear—be easy in that thought, as I also

* See p. 424.

shall endeavour to be; and aim not at any thing that, if it could be compassed, would draw great inconveniences on you, your husband, and family. I am incapable of doing you much good; and I would put you to as little expence and trouble as is possible. God bless you, my dear! and He will bless you, I am sure, for the duty and tenderness you have shewed towards me. Wherever I am, you may be sure that you are always in my thoughts, and that there is no degree of an affectionate concern that I do not feel for you.

I shall conclude without form; and not add even my name: if what I have writ were in any other hand than my own, yet you could not miss that which it came from.

This moment I receive your husband's of the 3d—for which I thank him most heartily—but have scarce time to peruse it before the post goes out here to-day, and must therefore refer my answer to some other.

CCCCIII. From Mrs. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

Dec. 30, 1728.

MANY thanks to you for your last letter, which tells me how well you find yourself after your journey. You happened to remove in a very lucky season: for we have terrible weather in these parts; frost and snow in abundance, which makes the winter very uncomfortable. I daily wish myself nearer the sun, and to be with you. I can hardly bring myself to use pen and ink this cold weather; but the entrance of a new year calls upon me to renew my professions of

duty to you, and offer my wishes for more happy years to come than the fix last have proved; and, as the old year has left you in pretty good health, my hope is, that the new one will confirm and perfect it. In this wish Mr. Morice joins, and desires me to tell you so.

I find, notwithstanding my correspondence is confined to a short compass, you can get intelligence of it. What I dropped in a letter to a certain lady at Paris *, about my intentions of travelling next year, has, it seems, reached you. Pray do not bring yourself easily to forbid my coming, and you need give no great encouragement to it. Montpelier is not too far for so good a traveller as I am, and I hope your next removal will not carry you further off. I readily fall into the belief of your affection and tendernefs for me; but do not let me be hindered from giving instances of mine.

My brother is at last gone for China. I was in great fears of his being left behind, which would probably have been a misfortune to his relations, but a greater to himself. Whilst he is abroad, he is pretty much out of danger; and scarce any thing could have kept him so at home. Mr. Morice has sent you enough of his character to make you uneasy, and satisfy you how unaccountable his conduct is. For some weeks before he went, there did not pass a day in which his mismanagements did not give me the greatest degree of trouble and concern. I forbear saying more of him now, and it will be some time before you need be troubled with any further accounts of him.

* See p. 422.

Mr. Morice sends you his duty. He has written to you lately, and will soon write again.

I am, dear Papa, your ever affectionate and dutiful daughter,

MARY MORICE.

All my little ones are at home with me these holy days, and are well; they send their duty.

CCCCIV. To Mr. MORICE.

DEAR MR. MORICE,

Montpeller, Jan. $\frac{1}{2}$ 9, 1728-9.

I SENT to Waters to write, when I could not without difficulty write myself, that you might be under no alarm as to the state of my health. My fit is over, and I entirely recovered, notwithstanding the severity of the season. Wherever I had wintered, I am satisfied I should have had it, and perhaps in a much more troublesome manner had I not removed so far Southward; a step which I am not sorry I took, and doubt not but I shall find of considerable advantage to me in point of health. I was pleased by your last letter to find that Obby was actually aboard, whatever expences his voyage may have put me to. I am as frugal here as I can be, and shall need only 100 l. more in March next; though the sooner you return it to Mr. Waters the better. With that, I believe, I shall be able to remove myself to some other place, if I quit this in April; upon which I am not fully resolved. Whatever I do, and wherever I go, I shall not consent to Mrs. Morice's and your coming over to me, till I am fixed somewhere at no great distance from the coast, where it will be no great inconvenience to you to come over and see me; and

and perhaps spend with me some considerable part of the few years of life that are now left me. I have no pleasure in the thought of seeing you by fits and snatches, and being then deprived of you. Mrs. Morice must not judge from thence, that my love to her abates—it never can. It is because I love her so much, that I do not care to see her little, and choose rather not to see her at all.

I am extremely beholden to Mr. Gibbons for his kindness to Obby, considering how little that unhappy youth deserves it. It is hard that I cannot return him so much as my thanks for the favour. You will do it for me in your own name, and in the most handsome manner; for I am truly sensible of his civilities, in a case where it is out of my power to make him any return.

Here is a little busy Abbé here in the neighbourhood, a friend and favourite of Mr. H's *, and who used to correspond with him. I enquired of him; but he has had no news of Mr. H. of late; who I hope, however, is well and vigorous, notwithstanding, if I mistake not, he is some years older than I am.

You send me no word of the particulars relating to Dr. Chamberlen †; his age, marriages, family, &c.
not-

* Archibald Hutcheson probably (see pp. 250. 402.), who was Treasurer of the Middle Temple, and remarkable about this period for publishing calculations relative to the public debts. See more of him in vol. III. in a Letter dated May 6, 1729.

† Dr. Hugh Chamberlen was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; M. A. there 1683; M. D. 1690; and has a Latin Poem in the "Hymenæus Cantabrigiensis (on the
6 " marriage

notwithstanding I writ so long ago for them; nor do I hear any thing of that paper of mine * which I wrote for above four months ago, and which you said you would send me. I am glad you have my books in your custody. I wish they were in mine, for I want them. But there is a good library here, out of which I am supplied very liberally; and, to tell you truth, now I am recovered, I spend my whole time in them.

"marriage of Prince George of Denmark with the Princess Anne), 1683."—"Dr. Hugh Chamberlen, the famous man-midwife, died at his house in Covent Garden, on Monday June 17, [1728]. He was grandson to Dr. Peter Chamberlen, who, with his father and uncles, were physicians to King James I. King Charles I. King Charles II. King James II. and King William III. to their respective Queens, and to Queen Anne. He was the last of that ancient family who practised the art of midwifery in this kingdom, except Dr. Walker in Great Suffolk-street, who was grandson to the fore-mentioned Dr. Peter Chamberlen." Political State, 1728, vol. XXXV. p. 609.—A fine marble monument to his memory (with his statue, in the robes of a Physician, at full length, in a reclining posture, and ornamented with two images representing Physic and Fortitude; over him an angel with a trumpet and wreath; at the top two cherubs, each holding the head of a lady in a medallion, and over the whole the family arms, and other emblematic devices, by Peter Scheemaker and Laurence Delvaux) was placed in Westminster Abbey, at the expence of Edward Duke of Buckingham. The epitaph, which is correctly printed in our fourth volume, may beyond a doubt be ascribed to the pen of Bishop Atterbury (see p. 400.) The Doctor's widow, the eldest daughter of Sir Willoughby Aston, Baronet, was afterwards married to Sir Thomas Crew, of Utkinton in Cheshire, Knight, who again left her a widow. Having been abroad playing at quadrille, on her return home she was taken with an apoplectic fit, in which she continued till next morning, and then died on the 6th of April 1734. After her death, Dr. Chamberlen's library was sold by Fletcher Gyles, in 1734.—For his daughter's marriage, see p. 284.

* On the Character of Iapis. See p. 428.

What

What you say of my brother's kindness to Obby, I understand just as you do. There is no remedy at present but patience.

I can say no more at present to all yours, of Sept. 26, Nov. 7, Dec. 5, and Jan 16, which are all I have had from you; nor can I particularly answer dear Mrs. Morice's of Nov. 21. My love and blessing to her and you, and your little family! Adieu!

Thank you for the trouble you give yourself about Obby. I grudge no expence that turns to account; but methinks you should not encourage him too much by large supplies, if there be no hopes of amendment.

FR. ROFFEN.

CCCCV. To Dr. JOHN FREIND*.

[1728.]

IN History-painting the particular figures, we know, are often taken from the life; and the case, I doubt not, is the same with respect to many characters in the *Æneid*,

* See Dr. Warburton's opinion of this Discourse, vol. IV. p. 99. The history of its publication has been somewhat singular. It was written, it is well known, when Bp. Atterbury was advanced in years, and in a retirement where he was at a loss for many books which he wished to have consulted. Such as it is, however, it was eagerly sought after, was greatly admired, and copies of it in MS. were multiplied. One of these being in 1737 in the hands of a gentleman of the law, then at Scarborough for his health, was shewn to Dr. Ferrari, who transcribed it with a view to publication; and accordingly, on his return to London, committed it to the press; soon after which he accidentally meeting with a correcter copy, the work was suspended, with an intent of printing the whole anew. But Dr. Ferrari being seized with a violent and dangerous distemper, under which he laboured more than two years, an erroneous copy of the Dissertation crept into the London Magazine for January 1738; which
not

Æneid, which were not drawn by the Poet at random. The manner in which Virgil represents those feigned per-

not coming to his notice till 1740, he then set about an accurate edition, in 4to, under the title of "Reflections on the Character of Iapis in Virgil; or, the Character of Antonius Musa, Physician to Augustus. By F. Atterbury, D. D. late Bishop of Rochester. Collated with the Original MS. To which is added, A Vindication of the Author*, for quoting and interpreting a passage in Virgil, differently from the common and generally received reading and interpretation. With a Postscript, and the Preface; which was to have been published some years ago, with the Bishop's Reflections, had not the then intended publication been laid aside, on account, that by comparing the printed Copy of the Bishop's Reflections with the original MS. it was found to be incorrect and imperfect." Meantime Charles Corbett, the bookseller, who had been at first engaged with Ferrari, finding perhaps there was no other way of repaying his expences, put forth an 8vo edition, abounding with errors, under the title of "Antonius Musa's Character, represented by Virgil, in the person of Iapis; a Dissertation, by F. Atterbury, late Bishop of Rochester; published from his Lordship's manuscript. To which is added, To the Duke of B[uckingham], on his birth-day, a poem, 1740;" and prefixed to it this Preface: "The publishing of the following piece wants no recommendation to the world. The name of an Author so well known, and so deservedly admired, for several books on various subjects published in his life-time, sufficiently recommends a posthumous work of his, much more than any thing that could be said in its favour; and claims of itself pretension to general applause. Such therefore being the disposition of the publick towards the character of the deceased Author, and such the claim of the work for a kind reception, I cannot but wonder that it has been so long kept from their view. It was communicated to me but lately by a learned and worthy gentleman, who very obligingly granted me a copy of it. I read it more than once with due attention, and found the performance far above my expectation. The oftener I read it, the more it pleased me, and the more it increased my admiration.

* See the substance of this Vindication in a note, p. 438.

" And

persons has something in it, that shews them to have been copied from living originals; and therefore, beautiful

“ And indeed whosoever peruses it with care and reflection,
 “ will, I am persuaded, look upon it as a master-piece of criticism, and one of the most ingenious and most polite
 “ compositions of the kind that was ever writ in our language. The novelty of the thought, and the acuteness
 “ and sagacity in tracing out the most secret views of the
 “ Roman Poet; the discovering of those uncommon beauties
 “ of his poem, either unperceived or neglected by former
 “ Criticks; and the exhibiting them in so masterly a manner;
 “ all this, I say, justly deserves the admiration of the Reader.
 “ Through all the work, though of a small compass, and
 “ on a subject so barren in its nature, and so much confined,
 “ the Author proves himself a man of great learning, a deep
 “ Critick, and a polite Gentleman; three qualities which are
 “ very seldom found united in the same person.

“ Virgil, among the Latin Poets, was our Author's favourite. By reading his poem often with a more than common attention, and making those observations which are
 “ requisite for relishing the delicacies of that excellent Poet,
 “ he made himself master of his genius and spirit, and thereby
 “ discovered the particular views the Poet had in several passages of his composition *. This is what, in reading ancient
 “ Authors, we ought to aim at, and endeavour to obtain;
 “ and then we may pretend to understand them, and to be
 “ capable of imitating them occasionally: the crowding
 “ together various readings, and the mustering up quotations,
 “ according to the mode of modern Criticks, shews indeed
 “ their great labour in collating MSS. and old editions, in
 “ collecting passages from various Authors, and turning over
 “ voluminous Dictionaries; but is very far from being a proof
 “ of their understanding and observing those delicate strokes
 “ of the most refined art, and of their shewing themselves
 “ masters of the skill and the peculiar manner of the Writer.
 “ They rather confound and puzzle the Reader, and cast
 “ dark clouds over the brightest passages of an Author, whilst
 “ they are making a parade of Greek and Latin learning, wild
 “ conjectures, and far-fetched interpretations, in order to
 “ lay claim to the title of Learned Men and Critics. No

* It is said he either translated, or intended to translate, the Georgics of Virgil. See vol. IV. p. 99.

“ wonder,

tiful as those images are, we lose half their beauty, by not knowing who sat for them.

Virgil

"wonder, therefore, that these gentlemen, as has been generally observed, after all their pains taken, and time spent in reading the Classics, can neither think nor write in the delicate taste, and after the easy and elegant manner, of the Ancients.

"I cannot but take notice of one circumstance, which shews our Author to have been a man of extraordinary abilities; he drew up his admirable piece of criticism, not in his young days, when the memory and imagination are in bloom and full vigour; neither in his firm and mature age, when the fruits of the understanding are ripe; but in the last period of his life, almost decayed by time, a season when all those branches of our nobler parts are generally either entirely withered, or, at the best, drooping and barren. Besides, his body was almost worn out by long and painful distempers, and his mind sunk under the heavy misfortune of being deprived of what Nature has deeply implanted in the soul; a particular affection and most tender love for his native country, which (separated from his near relations and his best and dearest friends) he passionately desired to see again; and yet had not the least hope of ever being indulged in his wishes. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, both of Nature and Fortune, which he then lay under, he yet was so blessed by Heaven, that they could not in the least weaken the strength, or darken the clearness, of his understanding; neither abate the liveliness of his imagination, nor shake the firmness and readiness of his memory. By these assistances he continued to converse with the Muses, with whom from his earliest youth he had been intimately acquainted; and found, in their conversation, that *Dulce lenimen malorum*, which is able to relieve a man under the like afflictions.

"I am credibly informed, by persons who have seen the MSS. that there are several of his writings in the hands of some of his friends*. It were to be wished that those gentlemen would not keep them from the publick, nor deprive the learned world of the advantages which would accrue to them from the perusal of the works of so deserving a man,

* See above, p. 211. He is said in particular to have written an "Harmonia Evangelica" in a new and perspicuous method, which was supposed to have been brought into England by Mr. Morice.

"who,

Virgil seems particularly touched with the charms of Friendship; and has therefore employed all his art to illustrate it in the persons of Euryalus and Nisus *, whom he introduces for that purpose into two of his best Episodes, and dwells largely, in both, on the little circumstances of their story. This he has not done with regard to any other of the subaltern characters in the *Æneid*, and we must suppose him therefore very fond of the subject, especially if considered as the most exact, reserved, and judicious of Writers.

Is it not natural to think that, in this and many other cases, he has scattered through his works, under feigned names, the true resemblances of some of his most intimate friends; endeavouring by that means to give them a share of the immortality which his Poem was to enjoy? though by the negligence and stupidity of those who made comments upon him, and said

“ who, for his superior genius, universal learning, elegance
 “ of style, and purity of language, will always, whilst Learn-
 “ ing and a good taste of writing continue to flourish among
 “ us, be admired, and looked upon as one of the brightest
 “ ornaments of the English nation. This is what even his
 “ most inveterate enemies neither can nor dare deny him;
 “ a true and convincing argument of a real and singular
 “ merit; a merit, which perhaps expects its reward from the
 “ sounder judgement of uncorrupt posterity, when men’s
 “ actions, by length of time, and the distance of particular
 “ views, motives, and circumstances, shall either appear in
 “ a different light, or be entirely forgotten; and when sen-
 “ timents shall be delivered with more freedom and security:
 “ Posterity, I say, may then be apt to lose all sight of lesser
 “ failings, and errors of conduct, in an entire admiration of
 “ the elevation of his genius, the dignity and regularity of
 “ his sentiments, and the purity and order of his diction and
 “ composition.”

* The friendship between Nisus and Euryalus is allowed to make one of the most amiable Episodes in the world. POPE.
 nothing

nothing of these secret views, his design has in great measure miscarried. For instance, can any one read those admirable lines at the end of the second episode relating to those two friends * ;

“ Fortunati ambo ! si quid mea carmina possunt,
 “ Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo :
 “ Dum domus Æneæ capitolii immobile saxum
 “ Accolet, imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.”

I say, can any one read these lines without judging immediately that Virgil must have had two Romans in his eye when he wrote them, whose character, friendship, and fate, are described under that of Euryalus and Nisus ? What else can justify so pathetic an excursion of the Poet in his own name,

“ Si quid mea carmina possunt,” &c.

a liberty not allowed to Epic Writers, and scarcely taken by him in any other part of his work, except where he invokes the Muse to assist him on some extraordinary occasion ? Nor would it perhaps have been excusable here, had not known persons and a real event been shadowed under this poetical fiction.

That Augustus sat for the character of Æneas, is agreed by the Commentators, even by those of them that are least attentive to such observations ; and indeed what Horace and Virgil himself say on this head puts it out of doubt. Virgil, in the introduction to his third

* O happy pair ! for, if my verse can give
 Eternity, your fame shall ever live :
 Fix'd as the Capitol's foundation lies,
 And spread where-e'er the Roman Eagle flies. DRYDEN.

Georgic, added probably after he had formed the plan of the *Æneid*, intimates his design in these verses :

“ Mox tamen ardentem accingar dicere pugnas

“ Cæsaris, & nomen famâ tot ferre per annos

“ Tithoni primâ quot abest ab origine Cæsar *.”

Which implies that the battles and other famous exploits of Augustus should be delivered down to posterity in the resembling circumstances of those of *Æneas*. Horace speaks yet more plainly to the point, where he writes to Augustus himself, and gives him an advantage over the Macedonian Hero in this respect, that Alexander's outward lineaments only had been taken by the exquisite Artists of his time; whereas the very mind and manners of Augustus had been described by Virgil and Varius. He mentions their names, and then adds,

“ Nec magis expressi vultus per aenea signa

“ Quam per vatis opus mores animique virorum

“ Clarorum apparent †.”

Varius had done this in his panegyric on Augustus, now lost; and Virgil can be only supposed to have done it in the character and actions of *Æneas*.

As the Hero of Virgil was certainly intended to express Augustus (of which many proofs, if necessary, might be given); so divers characters in his poem were

* A time will come when my maturer Muse
In Cæsar's wars a nobler theme shall chuse,
And through more ages bear my Sovereign's praise,
Than have from Tithon pass'd to Cæsar's days. DRYDEN.

† Not moulded brass more lively can express
The Hero's form, than Poets in their works
His manners trace, the features of the mind. DUNCOMBE.
doubt.

doubtless designed, as I have said, for particular persons, well known at the time when Virgil wrote. Such I suppose the character of Iapis in the twelfth *Æneid* to have been; and Antonius Musa, the Physician of Augustus, to be represented by it. He was of the court and retinue of that Prince, and attended his person, as Iapis attends *Æneas*, in his campaigns and voyages. He was very intimate with Virgil and Horace, as appears from an epigram addressed to him by the former, still remaining among the *Catalecta*, and by what the latter says of him in one of his *Epistles*. Both of them had infirm constitutions: one, we know, was under Musa's care on that account; and so, we may justly believe, was the other. It was no wonder, therefore, if Virgil, the most grateful of men to his friends and benefactors, should have been willing to do honour to his memory by finding a place for him in his poem. He seems to have wounded *Æneas* on purpose to introduce Iapis for the cure: which, after some thoughts spent on the reasonableness of this incident, as he has placed it, is the best account I can give of it. For it is certainly employed, when one would least have expected it, when the *Æneid* hastens towards a close, when the two armies are engaged for the last time, and with the greatest fury, and when the single fight between *Æneas* and *Turnus* is just coming on, by which the whole is to be determined; the action, then grown hot and at its height, cools and stands perfectly still, while Iapis is performing the cure on *Æneas*. At such a time, and in such an exigence, the friendly design of the

Poet, to immortalize the Physician, is perhaps the best account we can give of his conduct.

Indeed Musa deserved to be thus honoured by the pen of Virgil; for he was eminent in his faculty beyond all his contemporaries, as Iapis is said to have been, *Phæbo ante alios dilectus*. He had recovered Augustus from a dangerous illness, and was so dear to the people of Rome on that account, that a public statue was erected to his honour. Iapis in like manner heals Æneas; and it may be observed (if that remark be not too minute) that both the cures were performed by *bathing*. The statue for Iapis was wanting to complete the parallel. Virgil has added it, by giving us such a noble likeness of him, as will out-last brass and marble: for certainly the character of the Iapis, here displayed, is one of the most moral, beautiful, and perfect in its kind, of any that is to be met with in the whole Æneid. It is painted, according to the distinction made by the Italians as to the works of their great Masters, not only *con diligenza*, or *con studio*, but *con amore*. There is a fondness of expression (if I may be allowed that phrase) used by Virgil in tracing and heightening the several parts of it; so that it must have been a favourite piece: and, upon examining it throughout, one cannot help thinking that he had some friend of the Faculty present to his mind while he was drawing it.

It is for the sake of such another * that I shall enlarge my reflections on this head; and in the course of them shall have him often in my view, as Virgil had Musa, without naming him.

* Dr. John Freind.

Æneas, just ready to engage *Turnus*, is wounded by an arrow from an unknown hand, and obliged to retire from the field of battle to his tent, supported by *Mnestheus* and *Achates*.

The words of *Virgil*, on the occasion of this wound received, are very remarkable :

- “ *Ecce viro stridens alis allapsa sagitta est ;*
 “ *Incertum quâ pulsa manu, quo turbine adacta ;*
 “ *Quis tantam Rutulis laudem, casusne, Deusne,*
 “ *Attulerit: pressa est insignis gloria facti ;*
 “ *Nec sese Æneæ jactavit vulnere quisquam *.*”

Why all this variety of expression, to tell us that it was not known from what hand the wound came? Nothing is more common than such a circumstance in a battle. He lays, one would think, more weight on this particular than it deserves ; but he intends it by way of contrast to what is to follow, where he will not only mention him that healed the wound, but give us also a particular account of his talents and character : and it will heighten the praises he gives to the one, that he passes over the other altogether in silence.

I shall recite the whole passage relating to *Iapis* as it lies in the poem, and then suggest some reflections upon it. Some of these may perhaps be new, even to those who are well acquainted with *Virgil* ; and few of them, I believe, will be found either in his ancient or modern Commentators :

* ———loud-hissing through the skies,
 With thirsty rage, a feather'd arrow flies;
 And reach'd the hero with a certain aim;
 But from what hand, was never told by Fame.
 None knew, what fortune, or assisting god,
 So proud a triumph on the foe bestow'd,
 Nor one in all the mighty host was found,
 Who claim'd the merit of so base a wound.

PITT.
 Jamque

- " Jamque aderat * Phœbo ante alios dilectus Iapis
 " Iafides : acri quondam cui captus amore
 " Ipse suas artes, sua munera, latus Apollo,
 " Augurium, citharamque † *dedit*, celeresque sagittas.
 " Ille, ut depofiti proferret fata parentis,
 " Scire potestates herbarum, ufumque medendi
 " Maluit, & mutas agitare inglorius artes.
 " Stabat, acerba fremens, ingentem nixus in hafta

" Æneas,

* Now came Iapis to relieve his pain,
 Of old by Phœbus lov'd, nor lov'd in vain.
 On whom the god had proffer'd to bestow
 His lyre, his bays, his prescience, and his bow.
 But (to prolong his drooping Father's days)
 The youth refus'd his arrows, lyre, and bays,
 And prescient skill : but chose the healing part,
 A silent, useful, though inglorious art.

† " It is *dabat* in Virgil. The word *dedit*, however, which is the foundation of a Vindication of not less than thirty-four quarto pages, though not the common reading, is authorized by a sufficient number of valuable copies to justify the use made of it by the Bishop. The difference, though at the first view it appears to be of no great moment, yet when well examined and considered, does not a little alter the sense ; taking *dabat* with the current of most interpreters for *offerebat* or *voluit erudire*. According to this interpretation, Virgil's meaning would be, that Apollo did only offer, or intend, to instruct Iapis in the three mentioned arts, Augury, Music, and Darting ; or, as others will have, Apollo profered him, or gave him the choice, of any one of the four arts, Physic included, which he chose preferably to the rest, on consideration of his father's sickly life : so that, by this explication, Apollo did not give him those three arts ; that is to say, Iapis had not at all been instructed, and consequently was ignorant of them : whereas, on the contrary, admitting, with our Author, the reading *dedit*, and the interpretation he gives to it, then the sense would be, that Apollo effectually gave him those arts ; that is to say, Iapis has been instructed, and had skill in them ; though, for the sake of his father's life, putting them aside, he preferred Physic to be his peculiar application and profession." FERRARI.

Unmov'd

" Æneas, magno juvenum & mœrentis Iuli
 " Concurfu, lacrymisque immobilis. Ille retorto
 " Pæonium in morem senior fuccinctus amictu,
 " Multa manu medicâ, Phœbique potentibus herbis,
 " Nequicquam trepidat; nequicquam spicula dextra
 " Solicitat, prensatque tenaci forcipe ferrum.
 " Nulla viam fortuna regit, nihil auctor Apollo
 " Subvenit: & sævus campis magis ac magis horror
 " Crebrescit, propiusque malum est. Jam pulvere cœlum
 " Stare vident: subeunt equites, & spicula castris
 " Densa cadunt mediis. It tristis ad æthera clamor
 " Bellantum juvenum, & duro sub Marte cadentum.
 " Hic Venus, indigno nati concussa dolore,
 " Dictamnum genitrix Cretæa carpit ab Ida,
 " Puberibus caulem foliis, & flore comantem

" Pur.

Unmov'd with all the sorrow and the care
 Of friends, attendants, and the Royal Heir,
 His mighty spear, th' impatient Chief sustains
 Who grinds his teeth for rage, nor heeds the glowing pains.
 The Sage now hastens to the task assign'd,
 And first despatchful tucks his robes behind;
 Tries all the vegetable powers around,
 To cool the smart, and mitigate the wound.
 His hands solicit now with tender art;
 Now tug in vain with vigour at the dart.
 At length he pray'd; nor Phœbus heard the prayer;
 And nearer every moment pour'd the war,
 Thick and more thick the growing horrors rise;
 A cloud of dust involves the golden skies.
 The trampling steeds, the thundering foes, drew nigh,
 And 'midst the camp the showering javelins fly.
 The mingling cries from ev'ry part resound;
 Some shout, some groan, some gasp upon the ground.
 Now, touch'd with pity for the Hero's pain,
 Descends the Goddess-mother on the plain.
 A branch of sovereign dittany she bore,
 From Ida gather'd, on the Cretan shore.
 Luxuriant leaves the taper stalk array;
 The stalk in flowers; the flowers in purple gay.

- " Purpureo : non illa feris incognita capris
 " Gramina, cum tergo volucres hæfere sagittæ.
 " Hoc Venus, obscuro faciem circumdata nimbo,
 " Detulit : hoc fuscum labris splendentibus amnem
 " Inficit, occulte medicans ; spargitque salubres
 " Ambrosiæ succos, & odoriferam panaceam.
 " Fovit eâ vulnus lymphâ longævus Iapis
 " Ignorans ; subitôque omnis de corpore fugit
 " Quippe dolor, omnis stetit imo in vulnere sanguis.
 " Jamque secuta manum, nullo cogente, sagitta
 " Excidit, atque novæ redire in pristina vires.
 " Arma citi properate viro. Quid statis ? Iapis
 " Conclamat, primusque animos accendit in hostes.
 " Non hæc humanis opibus, non arte magistra,
 " Proveniunt, neque te, Ænea, mea dextera servat :
 " Major agit Deus, atque opera ad majora remittit.
 " Ille avidus pugnæ," &c.

How

The goats, when pierc'd at distance by the dart,
 Apply the med'cine to the wounded part.
 This juice, while clouds conceal her radiant face,
 The Queen infuses in the golden vase ;
 Tempers with scented panacee the whole,
 And with ambrosial liquors crowns the bowl.
 Nor knew the Sage the succour that he found,
 But with the balmy mixture bathes the wound.
 At once the throbbing anguish pass'd way ;
 Stanch'd was the blood, and in the bottom lay.
 The dart, though deeply rooted, at command
 Moves up, and answers the Physician's hand.
 His former vigour now succeeds to pain,
 And life burns bright in all her powers again.
 Iapis first perceiv'd th' immortal art,
 That cool'd the raging pangs, and clos'd the part.
 Raptur'd he saw the cure ; and first impell'd
 The Prince, renew'd in courage, to the field.
 Arms for the Chief, he cries, prepare his arms ;
 And instant send him to the dire alarms.
 This cure, great Hero, is no work of mine,
 Not mortal art, but done by hands divine.
 Thy life some Guardian God has made his care,
 Who sends thee back to fight, and conquer in the war. **PITT.**

How recommendable and beautiful an idea has Virgil here given us of this Physician ! He reckons up the four arts in which Apollo was supposed to excel *, which were under his peculiar patronage, and which he distributed, as he pleased, to his votaries and favourites.

* Horace traced the steps of Virgil in his *Carmen Seculare*, where he enumerates in one stanza [ver. 62—65.] these four attributes of Apollo :

“ Augur & fulgente decorus arcu
 “ Phœbus, acceptusque novem Camenis,
 “ Quid salutari levat arte fessos
 “ Corporis artus †.”

The words are good, but do not, I think, rise up to the force and beauty of Virgil's expression. There is a second instance in the same ode, wherein Horace imitates another celebrated passage of Virgil [*Æn.* vi. 801.], and falls equally short of it ;

“ Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
 “ Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos † ;”

says the one.

“ Imperet bellante prior, jacentem
 “ Lenis in hostem § ;”

says the other, ver. 31, 32.

It cannot be doubted, upon the comparison, whether the first of these be not said with more dignity and grace than the latter. And so it must happen to any man, even to Horace himself, that ventures to say the same thing that Virgil did, after a different manner. Let me add, that the design of Horace to imitate Virgil, decides the dispute that has been raised about a various reading of *impetret* for *imperet*, which plainly refers to the *imperio* of Virgil.

† “ The Prophet God, with golden bow,
 “ Dear to the Nine, who well can shew ;
 “ The healing power of every herb and plant,
 “ And sprightly health to languid mortals grant.” DUNCOMBE.

‡ “ But, Rome, 'tis thine alone, with awful sway,
 “ To rule mankind, and make the world obey,
 “ Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way :
 “ To tame the proud, the fetter'd slave to free,
 “ These are imperial arts, and worthy thee.” DRYDEN.

§ “ —who triumphs o'er his stubborn foes,
 “ But generous mercy to the suppliant shews.” DUNCOMBE.

In three of these, he tells us, Iapis, when young, had made great advances; but neglected the study of them, and pursued only the fourth, the skill of Medicine, that by the means of it he might protract the life of an aged father, then labouring under some great infirmity; whose name therefore Virgil records, together with that of the son, *Iapis Iafides*.

Of all the motives that could determine a man to the study of Physic preferably to other arts and sciences, sure the worthiest and best is that of filial piety. It is what distinguishes the character even of the Hero of the *Æneid*, and was a remarkable part of Virgil's own, as appears from some verses he composed at the time of his flight from Mantua, wherein his father accompanied him, and of whose danger he there speaks with all imaginable concern and tenderness. It was natural therefore for him to adorn his friend with a quality which he himself prized and possessed; and perhaps, if we knew Musa's story, we should find that there was something in it parallel even in this respect to what is here said of Iapis.

His determining himself to be a Physician, upon the laudable motive before-mentioned, is still farther recommended to us by this heightening circumstance, that he possessed the other arts in perfection, and exercised them with skill and success. Thus much, I think, is strongly implied in these emphatical words:

“ —Acri quondam cui captus amore

“ Ipse suas artes, sua munera, lætus Apollo,

“ Augurium, citharamque dedit, celeresque sagittas.”

The gifts of the Gods to those they favour and love, are always to be supposed perfect, and not made by halves:

halves : Iapis therefore must have excelled in those arts, which he renounced for the study of Physic ; and these arts were all such as the Romans held in high esteem. The College of Augurs, and the Library of Apollo in the Vatican, sufficiently prove the regard that was paid to the two first ; and as to the third, expressed by *sagittæ*, it means the *peritia jaculandi* in general ; includes the art of managing the javelin or dart, as well as the bow ; and was one of those military exercises in which the Romans, whose empire was owing to their arms, excelled.

Divination, Poetry, and Soldiery, were all honourable and advantageous to those that professed them ; and yet Iapis, intent upon recovering his father, quits them all for a profession which was not then in high repute, and made no great figure and noise in the world, except what is borrowed sometimes from the character and perfections of some excellent person who happened to practise it ;

“ ——— Usumque medendi

“ Maluit, & mutas agitare inglorius artes.”

We are not to wonder, that Virgil rewards this pious concern of Iapis for the life of his father by lengthening his own : he styles him *senior* in one place, and *langævus* in another. He makes him on this account dearest to the God of Medicine than the rest of the tribe, and advances him to be prime Physician to the Founder of the Roman empire, and author of the race of Iulus. The good qualities and great talents of Iapis have, by Virgil's means, a recompence which is proportioned to his merit, and the just consequence of it. Were the prime Physicians
of

of Princes always preferred with as much justice, perhaps many of those Princes would sit longer on their thrones than they do, and reach the years of Æneas or Augustus.

It may be observed, how short, and yet just and full, an account Virgil here gives us of the extent of Physic and Surgery, as then jointly exercised. He makes them to consist in the knowledge of the power of simples, and in great use and experience :

“ Scire potestates herbarum, usumque medendi.”

The one relates to the theory of that art, the other to the practice : without the latter of these, he insinuates, the former can be of no service ; and for this reason also he may be supposed to have ascribed longevity to his Iapis. The *materia medica*, then consisting chiefly in Botany, might be acquired in early years ; but age, and long use, were requisite to mellow and ripen the Physician in the art of healing. There are no useless words, we see, in Virgil ; all he says is full of good sense, and will afford us wise reflections, if we have but the skill and the patience sufficient to unfold them.

It will not be thought refining, I hope, if I suppose also Virgil's meaning, in this passage, to have been to intimate to us, that art and industry, however necessary in Physic, are not sufficient without an happy genius or disposition of nature, which peculiarly fits men for that profession, and which seems born with them, and derived immediately from the Deity. It was by the particular favour of Apollo that Iapis excelled : if he had not been “ Phœbo ante alios dilectus,” he had never arrived to the height of his Faculty. The Son of Sirach
has

has said the same thing with greater authority. " Honour a Physician," says he, " with the honour due unto him ; for the Lord hath created him. Of the Most High cometh healing. And he hath given men skill, that he might be honoured in his marvelous works." It may be thought indecent thus to mix what is sacred with what is profane : but I cite the author of Ecclesiasticus on this occasion, merely as a wise observer of men and things, without regard to his character on other accounts. And as such perhaps I shall take leave to cite him again ere I end these papers.

When Iapis goes to work, we find the methods employed by him to have been, *a bath of herbs* and the use of the *forceps*. In one of these, Virgil includes the remedies, in the other the instruments, of Surgery. And he particularly, more than once, takes notice of the *manus medica*,

" —Multa manu medica—trepidat—

" —Spicula dextra

" Solicitat—

" Jamque secuta manum, nullo cogente, sagitta.

" —Neque te, Ænea, mea dextera servat—"

or that dexterity in handling the part affected, which is looked upon as one of the best and happiest qualifications of those that are employed on such occasions. He seems also to imply, that the practitioners of that time had a peculiar and becoming dress, by which they were distinguished ; and which was tucked up, or thrown back, but not laid aside, at the time when they performed such operations. At least, such an habit is by

Virgil

Virgil provided for Iapis ; and, by that means, some addition, as it were, is made to the gravity of his character.

“ —Ille retorto

“ *Pæonium in morem senior succinctus amictu.*”

Unless we will say that this circumstance was intended to express the extraordinary diligence of Iapis in dressing his master, without losing any time, even by laying aside his habit. I should have thought so indeed, if the words *Pæonium in morem* did not seem to refer to somewhat customary.

Virgil has otherwise taken care to express the diligence of Iapis in attending Æneas, and his solicitude in performing the cure. The first words by which he introduces him are, *Jamque aderat*, &c. He is at the tent, we see, almost as soon as Æneas himself ; nor does it appear that he was so much as sent for on this occasion. The rumour of the master's wound soon reached the faithful and vigilant servant ; and immediately we find him on the spot : *Jamque aderat*. This is not always the case of those who excel in the Faculty ; but wherever it is, it gives a particular lustre to their character.

The care and anxiety of Iapis in the operation, and his turning himself every way to give Æneas relief, are thus in the most lively and emphatical manner set out :

“ —Ille retorto

“ *Pæonium in morem senior succinctus amictu*

“ *Multa manu medica, Phœbique potentibus herbis,*

“ *Nequicquam trepidat, nequicquam spicula dextra*

“ *Solicitat, prensatque tenaci forcipe ferrum.*

“ *Nulla viam fortuna regit, nihil auctor Apollo*

“ *Subvenit.—*”

Several methods of his art, which he employed, are particularly expressed; and it is intimated to us that he employed all, though none succeeded. Nevertheless he desists not, nor is discouraged; but continues his application, till a Divine Power comes to his assistance, and blesses his honest and skilful, though hitherto fruitless, endeavours:

“ Hic Venus, indigno nati concussa dolore,
 “ Dictamnum genitrix Cretæa carpit ab Ida,
 “ Puberibus caulem foliis, & flore comantem
 “ Purpureo: non illa feris incognita capris
 “ Gramina, cum tergo volucres hæfere sagittæ.”

The moral I would suppose. couched under this part of the relation is, that where human art fails, divine aid begins, whenever the cause and the person justify such an interposition. And it is intimated also to us, that the Gods sometimes give extraordinary success to the prescriptions of a good Physician, who is at the same time a good man: so that it is wise in us, when we want the assistance of the Faculty, to make use of those in it who are of this character. It is plain that Iapis relied not wholly on his own skill, but had secretly invoked the God of Medicine, while he was busied in the cure. The words,

“ —Nihil auctor Apollo
 “ Subvenit—”

sufficiently imply it.

This method of practice would now perhaps be thought a little singular; nor was it then, I suppose, very common; since the eldest and most famous Professor of the art, Hippocrates, is observed, through all his works,

works, to have mentioned τὸ Θεῖον but once; and even then it is disputed by his Commentators, whether that phrase had any relation to the Deity. However, Virgil, we see, was not ashamed to join these two qualifications together, the use of remedies, and a dependence on the Gods for the success; and he has done it not here only, but in other places of his poem; particularly, where he mentions Hippolytus, as brought to life by the favour of Diana, and the skill of Æsculapius:

“Pæoniis revocatum herbis, & amore Dianæ*.”

Will it be indecent after this, if I once more cite the Son of Sirach's authority to the same purpose? “There is,” says he, “a time when in the hand of the Physician there is good success: for he shall (not only prescribe, but) pray unto the Lord, that he would prosper what he gives for ease and remedy to prolong life.” This, it seems, was a notion that prevailed among the Jews and Heathens, as to the practice of Physic: would it be any disgrace to us, if it were countenanced a little among Christians? But these reflections are perhaps too serious. I proceed to those that may be thought less exceptionable.

After Venus had secretly made the infusion,

“Fovit ea vulnus lymphæ longævus Iapis

“Ignorans.—”

Though Virgil represents Iapis as knowing and experienced in his art, he thinks not that he lessens his character by imputing ignorance in the present case to him. Divine assistances are unseen and unfelt at the time they

* But chaste Diana, who his death deplor'd,
With Æsculapian herbs his life restor'd.

DRYDEN!
are

are communicated: they appear only by the effect; which when it happened, we shall find Iapis to be the first who perceived and owned it. It is no reproach to his skill, that he did not himself light on this remedy, and apply it. How should he, when two of the ingredients were such as a God only, at that instant, could furnish, the juice of ambrosia, and the *dictamnium* or dittany, that grew on Mount Ida, and on that mountain only? It seems the virtue of that herb consisted in applying it green, and in the flower:

“ —Puberibus foliis, & flore comantem

“ Purpureo—”

in like manner as the wild goats of Crete made use of it *. Iapis therefore could not possibly be master of it without the help of some Divinity. Each way Virgil takes care that the confessed ignorance of Iapis should be no blemish to him here; as we shall find that his own ready acknowledgement of it afterwards does him great honour.

Upon Iapis's continuing to bathe the part, after this infusion, the cure is performed in an instant:

* “ Auditum est—Capras in Creta feras, cum essent confixæ venenatis sagittis, herbam quærere, quæ Dictamnus vocatur; quam cum gustavissent, sagittas excidere dicunt è corpore.” Cic: de Nat. Deor. l. ii. I suppose Virgil to have had this passage of Cicero in his eye, because I find that both he and Horace were very well versed in Cicero's writings, and made use sometimes of his very words; though they were too good Courtiers to venture the displeasure of Augustus, by mentioning him with respect (as they must have done if they had mentioned him at all) in their poems. And yet both had proper occasions of doing honour to his memory (as I could shew), but avoided them. DR. FERRARI.

“ —Subitoque omnis de corpore fugit
 “ Quippe dolor: omnis stetit imo vulnere sanguis.
 “ Jamque secuta manum, nullo cogente, sagitta
 “ Excidit—”

Three different symptoms of this cure are in these verses distinctly expressed. The pain Æneas felt vanished at once, the blood ceased to gush from his wound, and the arrow itself dropped easily out of it. It is observable how these several effects are adapted to the several ingredients that were thrown into the bath by Venus. The dittany loosens the arrow; the plant he calls *panacea* removed the pain (for so the very derivation of the word implies); and the *succus salubris ambrosiæ*, whatever that juice was, helped to staunch the blood, and close the wound by its healing quality. So exactly has Virgil made the cause and the effect, the remedy and the cure, to correspond with each other. The issue of all is, after the enumeration of these symptoms, that Æneas's strength was immediately and entirely restored:

“ —Atque novæ rediere in pristina vires.”

This effect was too unusual and sudden to flow merely from a natural cause, and therefore is added to shew that the cure was miraculous; and so we shall see Iapis understands and declares it to be, without the least hesitation.

He had been hitherto silent while the operation was going forward: nor could he indeed then have said any thing but what was discouraging. Now in a rapture he cries out:

“ Arma citi properate viro—”

Arms,

Arms, and the man who had now recovered his strength to wield them, are terms suited to each other : they are those by which Virgil opens his *Æneid*, and includes in them the whole subject of it. He there uses them in his own person ; and now, when the action draws to a close, he puts them again into the mouth of his favourite physician, who thus proceeds :

“ — Quid statis ? Iapis

“ Conclamat, primusque animos accendit in hostes.

“ Non hæc humanis opibus, non arte magistra,

“ Proveniunt, neque te, *Ænea*, mea dextera servat :

“ Major agit Deus, atque opera ad majora remittit.”

From these few words, and this short account of his behaviour, many things may be observed to his advantage, which Virgil with a masterly hand has either expressed or insinuated, in order to raise the character of Iapis, and render it every way amiable and venerable.

His public spirit, his zeal for *Æneas*'s safety, and affection for his cause, are here apparent. What can declare them more, than the abrupt manner of his entering on this honest and beautiful expostulation ?

He stays not to congratulate his great patient upon the cure, or to receive the congratulations of others : his concern is only lest any moment should be lost ; and therefore he addresses himself immediately to the crowd, and reproaches the delay of those who stupidly looked on, and forbore to bring the Hero his armour. Intent upon the common good, and pushed by a strong impulse, he neglects little decencies ; and, forgetting his profession, is the first to encourage the drooping soldiers, and to warm them into a desire of renewing the combat :

“ —Primusque animos accendit in hostes.”

Virgil plainly intended by this account to tell us, that he was no less a good Patriot than an excellent Physician.

His modesty, probity, and piety, appear at the same time to us. He disclaims all pretences to merit in this cure: he denies that art in general, or that his art in particular, did or could perform it:

“ Nec hæc humanis opibus, non arte magistra,

“ Proveniunt, neque te, Ænea, mea dextera servat.”

He acknowledges the interposition of a Divine Power, without which all his own industry and skill had been fruitless; and having, by this means, shewn his Master to be the immediate care of Providence, he fears not to promise him and his army success in the approaching engagement. The Divinity that supplied the means, he was sure, would accomplish the work; and therefore is so far from being alarmed at the new dangers which Æneas might run, that he pushes him anew into the midst of them:

“ Major agit Deus, atque opera ad majora remittit.”

This is painting to the life, though in miniature; every stroke of the pencil discovers some new feature, something particularly beautiful, in the person intended to be drawn. Apollo, Virgil had told us, bestowed originally on Iapis three arts in which he excelled:

“ Augurium, citharamque dedit, celeresque sagittas.”

Though Iapis had intermitted the study of those arts to pursue that of Medicine; yet still we find him possessed of the two first at least, and exerting them here in a

very remarkable manner. His skill in divination (*augurium*) manifests itself by his first lighting on the cause of Æneas's cure, and then foretelling the event of it. His talent for Poetry and Music, which the word *cithara* implies, Virgil has taken care to secure to him, by those fine lines he makes him utter on this occasion, which are as just and numerous as any in the Æneid. And as to his knowledge of the *celeres sagittæ*, there is, methinks, some little reference, some allusion, to that gift, in the very nature of the operation about which he is employed. So that the Poet forgets not in the conclusion of this little episode (if I may so call it) what he had said at the entrance of it. His account of Iapis is throughout consistent, and of a piece. And I may, after this particular examination of it, now safely appeal to men of judgement and taste, whether what I laid down concerning the character of Iapis be not true; that it is certainly one of the most moral, beautiful, and perfect, that occurs throughout the poem; and consequently must have been designed to represent some Physician of note, with whom Virgil was particularly acquainted; and who could that be but Antonius Musa? Happy he was to be acquainted with such a poet, and such a friend, who knew his worth, and did such justice to it, that I persuade myself, if Musa outlived Virgil, and the edition of his poem (as I think he did), he valued himself more upon these verses of his, than upon all the liberalities of Augustus.

An endeavour to set this point in a true light, was the real occasion of what I have written; wherein I have also intermixed reflections of a different kind as they oc-

curred, and as I judged them useful to illustrate the art and conduct of Virgil in managing this incident. Some of these reflections will, perhaps, be thought too refined, and rather fanciful than just. I am apt to think them so myself, and that I have here and there indulged my passion for Virgil, and ascribed to him more than he expressly intended. A very pardonable fault in his commentators and admirers; who are sure to omit ten observations that might be made to his advantage, for any one which they start that does not strictly belong to him. However, most of the thoughts I advance have, if I mistake not, a real and solid foundation. Such as they are, they have offered themselves to me without the help of books, of which I am not now master; and if I were, should, perhaps, have chosen not to consult them; being persuaded, that the text of great Authors, well considered, is always the best comment on itself, and affords the truest light towards entering into the sense and spirit of them.

The contemners of the Ancients take more pains to censure than understand them. Such reflections as these, if well grounded, may contribute to give them juster notions than they have, of the exactness and propriety of Virgil's thoughts and expressions, and lead them to peruse his works with more attention and reverence than they usually bestow upon them. For certainly he was a man who with a noble ambition aimed at immortality, and took the truest ways to compass it. He had always in his eye that important advice of Longinus, given to those Writers who desired to excel: That they should frequently ask themselves the question, Πως μετ' εμε

οὐκ ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἔστι, How will ages to come think and speak of me? In this spirit, and with this view, he wrote his *Æneid*. Had he given it his last hand, it would, I am persuaded, have been the noblest work that the mind of man by its natural powers (not only did ever produce, for such it now is, but) is capable of producing. That is not the case; for he died before he could finish it, and laid that disappointment so much to heart, as to endeavour to destroy what did not answer the idea of perfection he had conceived. There is no room to dispute this fact; the authorities for it are beyond exception; and it gives us an higher notion of Virgil, than even his poem can furnish us with; since it was, doubtless, a greater proof of his superior judgement and genius to resolve to burn what he had written, because he held it imperfect, than to have been able to compose it. We are beholden to Varius and Tucca, that this resolution was not executed; and posterity ought ever to be grateful to their memory on that account. What they wrote themselves is lost, and lost, perhaps, by the surpassing excellence of the poem which they preserved, and by the extraordinary praises which they themselves (whose judgement was then held in high repute) without envy bestowed upon it.

How different has the fate of Virgil been in our days, when men have tried their reputation on the ruin of his; and, by finding fault with his matchless work, to make way for the reception of their own insipid performances! The ill success of the attempt will not, I believe, tempt others to renew it. These, I hope, may be the last efforts that ignorance and want of taste will make on the

characters of men, whom the universal applauses of so many succeeding ages has put beyond the reach of our censure, and whom it will ever be our happiness to admire, and our glory to imitate.

“ Hæc ego lusi
 “ Ad Sequanæ ripas, Tamefino a flumine longè,
 “ Jam senior *, languensque, sed, ipsa in morte,
 “ meorum
 “ Quos colui, patriæque memor, nec degener usquam†.”

* In some copies this is *fractusque*.

† These lines (which it is said the Bishop sent to a friend with a version of Virgil's *Georgics*) have been thus literally translated :

——Thus on the banks of Seine
 Far from my native home I pass my hours,
 Broken with years and pain ; yet my firm heart
 Regards my friends and country ev'n in death.

And thus paraphrased :

Thus where the Seine through realms of Slavery strays,
 With sportive verse I wing my tedious days ;
 Far from Britannia's happy climate torn,
 Bow'd down with age, and with diseases worn ;
 Yet ev'n in death I act a steady part,
 And still my friends and country share my heart ‡.

‡ See *Grub Street Journal*, vol. II. p. 304.

CCCCVI. REMARKS on Bishop ATTERBURY'S
ESSAY on the Character of IAPIS.

By PETER TEMPLEMAN, M. D.

“ Phœbo ante alios dilectus Iapis
“ Iafides : acri quondam cui captus amore
“ Ipse suas artes, sua munera lætus Apollo,
“ Angurium citharamque dabat, celeresque sagittas.
“ Ille; ut depositi proferret fata parentis,
“ Scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi
“ Maluit ut mutas agitare inglorius artes *.”

Æneid. xii. 391.

BISHOP Atterbury, in a letter addressed to Dr. Freind, endeavours to point out the person that Virgil had in his eye to compliment under this beautiful character of Iapis. But though I admit that he has given several ingenious reasons for imagining the Poet had a design of *shadowing* some favourite Physician in this passage, yet I can by no means agree that he has pitched upon the right person. My reasons are, That it is certain, at the time Virgil wrote *this*, the young Marcellus was dead; and we learn from Dion Cassius, that he was killed by Antonius Musa, who is by some

* Him Phœbus lov'd, and, burning with desire,
Gave him his prescience, shafts, and tuneful lyre :
Pleas'd with the youth, the favouring God imparts
His choicest gifts, his own illustrious arts.
But, to prolong a languid parent's days,
Those arts he flights, and scorns immortal praise :
Unknown to fame, explores the secret power
Of healing herbs, and searches every flower. DRYDEN.
said

said to have *imprudently*, by others to have been *bribed* to destroy him, by an improper use of the cold bath; and that the Physician was, in consequence of it, ever afterwards in the utmost discredit. Now it is not probable that, at such a time, so courtly a Poet as Virgil would pay so fine a compliment to so odious a character as Musa then had.

That the young Marcellus was then dead, is evident from the sixth *Æneid*, ver. 868, & seqq. where Virgil so pathetically laments the death of that Prince in lines by much the finest of the whole *Æneid*, beginning,

“ O nate, ingentem luctum ne quære tuorum *,” &c.

The part that Virgil took in the general sorrow for the loss of that excellent Prince is, as I think, a sufficient evidence that Antonius Musa was not at that time one of Virgil's favourites.

Besides, Iäpis is celebrated particularly for his knowledge in the virtues of herbs; but I do not find that Musa was any way remarkable for that; his grand specific seems to have been the cold bath; and I am afraid, from the success he had in the case of Augustus, he was induced, like our modern quacks, to prescribe it indiscriminately to all patients. Horace fell under his hands, and was soufed likewise in cold water:

“ Nam mihi Bajas

“ Musa supervacuas Antonius, & tamen illis

* Seek not to know, (the ghost reply'd with tears)
The sorrows of thy sons in future years:
This youth, the blissful vision of a day,
Shall just be shown on earth, and snatch'd away.
The Gods too high had rais'd the Roman state,
Were but their gifts as permanent as great! DRYDEN.

“ Me

“ Me facit invisum, gelidâ cum perluor undâ
 “ Per medium frigus. Sanè myrteta relinqui,
 “ Dictaque *cessantem* nervis elidere morbum.
 “ Sulfura contemni vicus gemit, invidus ægris,
 “ Qui caput & stomachum supponere fontibus audent
 “ Clusinis, Gabiosque petunt & frigida rura.”

Epist. I. xv.

Where, by the way, Dacier makes the *cessantem morbum* to be the gout, and Sanadon conjectures it to be the palsey or apoplexy; but neither of them is right, for *cessantem morbum* implies no more than a lingering disease, without being specified at all *.

* The passage of Horace has been thus translated by my late worthy friend Mr. Duncombe :

“ Antonius Musa's counsel I obey,
 Who bids me Baiæ's springs no longer use.
 Me too her slighted nymph with envy views,
 While in cold streams in Winter's depth I lave.
 I now have left her myrtle groves, and wave
 With sulphur fraught; which soon, he said, relieves
 The lingering gout. The desert village grieves,
 Shunn'd by the sick, who now at Clusium dare
 To bathe, or fly to Gabium's cooler air.”

Musa was the favourite physician of Augustus, whom he recovered by the cold bath from a dangerous illness. This raised his reputation to such a degree, that all the Physicians at Rome shared part of the honours he received, and were ever afterwards placed in equal rank with the Knights. He is the celebrated Physician upon whom Virgil bestows that beautiful episode in the character of Iapis; and who, after he had preserved Augustus in the manner he already mentioned, unfortunately destroyed young Marcellus by the same method. So uncertain is the godlike art of cure! Earl of CORKE.

After this warning, it is not likely that Horace would have been willing to run the same hazard; and therefore we may fix the date of this epistle at the beginning of 731, six or seven months before the recovery of Augustus, which happened in the month of August. SANADON.

I cannot

I cannot forbear observing, that our two great champions for the cold bath, Sir John Floyer* and Dr. Baynard, mention the great cure performed on Augustus by Antonius Musa, and the honours he received on that occasion; but keep very secret the death of Marcellus through the same method, which is agreeable to the laudable custom of most writers in physick, to vaunt loudly the great cures performed by some favourite medicine, but carefully to conceal any mischief or failure in it.

PETER TEMPLEMAN.

* See a curious Letter from Sir John Floyer, in recommendation of the cold bath, *Gent. Mag.* vol. IV. p. 197; and see vol. LIV. pp. 4. 101.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Nº I.

P. 3. BISHOP COMPTON died on the 7th of July, as appears by the following article from a contemporary newspaper :

“ On Tuesday last, about six in the evening, departed this life, in the 81st year of his age, the time when the service of Thanksgiving for the Peace was just finished in his Lordship's Cathedral, Dr. Henry Compton, Lord Bishop of London. He was a son of the valiant Earl of Northampton, whose loyalty and sufferings in the cause of the blessed King Charles I. have rendered his great name immortal to all posterity. And herein he was so true a copier of his father's virtues, that in the year 1674 he was recommended by the Martyr's son King Charles II. to the Bishoprick of Oxford, and from thence translated, the year following, to the see of London. Those who are acquainted with this great Bishop's abstemious and temperate way of living, do not so much admire that he reached so good an old age, as lament his being taken from us in the midst of a vigour both of body and mind, which, although very uncommon in any person of his Lordship's years, did nevertheless give us hopes that he would yet have spun out many years in the adorning and supporting of our common mother the Church of England. Never were the pulpits of his Diocese filled with more able and pious pastors than during his sitting in the chair ; a good argument of his Lordship's care and integrity in the discharge of his fatherly office. How strict a guard he kept against Heresy and Schism (those pests which too many others make so light of) his Lordship's orthodox Charges to the Clergy of his Diocese will for ever testify, and at the same time evince his depth of learning, and soundness of judgement. His Lordship was always
too

too conscientious in the discharge of his function, and had constantly too much business upon his hands, to give into sceptical notions, and then shew how far Divines can depart from their principles, turning Christianity itself out of doors by crafty expositions and base reserves. In short, if his Lordship was not free from error in the course of his long life, it may truly be said of him, that he had as few as any man of his time. His whole life was, as it were, one continued act of devotion. His charity was so extensive, that the considerable revenues of his Diocese were for the most part spent in works of that kind. And his humility was well known to be such as well became a Bishop of the Primitive Church of England." Postboy, July 9, 1713.

N° II.

P. 134. The author of a letter signed Cato, in "The British Journal," April 27, 1723, says, "I have had a long and affecting letter lately sent me concerning the late Rev. Dr. Gale; but it is too long to be inserted here, however well it deserves it. The virtue, learning, and moderation of that great Divine, and every other good and great quality belonging to him, made him amiable in life, and his death a loss to mankind. But that loss is still more sensible and melancholy to his family. He left a prudent and virtuous wife, with several helpless children, to the wide world. Their only support is a contribution raised amongst some of his acquaintance, by which she has been enabled to set up a coffee-house in Finch Lane; where her submissive and obliging behaviour, and her virtuous and easy compliance with her humble fortune, shew how much she merits a better: I wish what I have here said may contribute to make it so. She was the dutiful and kind wife of a great and religious man, eminent for extensive capacity and universal charity; and is, from his character and her own, entitled to the good wishes and kind offices of all who have a sense of his or her merit.—I hope it will be in the way, and in the inclination, of many who read this, to be kind to the widow and children of Dr. Gale.—It is a pity that she, who bears the severity of fortune with so much decency and patience, should be suffered to sink under it; and it would be a shame to the City of London, if, in the employment she has undertaken, she should not meet proper encouragement, and be kept far above streights; while the
" other

“ other end of the town affords instances of women, of very
“ different characters, set up splendidly in the same way, and
“ amply supported.”

N^o III.

P. 204. The Ceremonial of the Duke of Marlborough's funeral, being in itself curious, and from Atterbury's situation as Dean of Westminster being connected with his personal history, is here given at large.

“ On Thursday Aug. 7, the funeral of his Grace John late Duke of Marlborough was performed with the greatest solemnity and magnificence.

At Marlborough House, at St. James's, the first room was hung with baize; the second with cloth, where was a chair of state at the upper end with a majesty-scutcheon over it; the third was hung with velvet, floored with baize, having at the upper end an ascent of three steps, where stood a bed of state of black velvet properly adorned, with black plumes at the corners of the tester; at the head of the bed a majesty-scutcheon; the coffin was covered with crimson velvet, over which was a fine holland sheet, and on that a pall of black velvet; upon which was laid a complete suit of armour gilt, with a general's truncheon in the right hand, the great collar of the order of the Garter about the neck with the George appendant, and the garter on the left leg; a rich sword, in a crimson velvet scabbard, being buckled to the side by a like velvet belt; on one side of the head was laid the cap of a Prince of the Empire, and on the other side a ducal coronet, under the head a crimson velvet cushion with gold fringes and tassels; the feet resting on a lion couchant holding a banner, being his Grace's crest; and round about the body were placed several ensigns which will be afterwards mentioned in the procession, with several scutcheons on the columns of the bed properly disposed. The said three rooms were adorned with a great number of scutcheons of several sorts, with cyphers and badges interspersed, and with silver sconces and large silver candlesticks having wax tapers burning in them. Two other large rooms were hung with cloth, and adorned in the like manner, for the reception of the Nobility and others who were invited to the funeral.

About half an hour after twelve the procession began, and passed along the road through St. James's Park and the Upper Park to Hyde Park Corner, thence through Piccadilly,
down

down St. James's-street, through the Pall-mall and by Charing-cross, through King-street, to Westminster Abbey.

A proper disposition had been made of such of the forces as were drawn from the camp in Hyde Park to attend the funeral: the first regiment of his Majesty's foot-guards was drawn up in the Upper Park, with their right next to Buckingham House; the rest, both foot and horse guards and horse grenadiers, were drawn up facing the road through that Park on the left of the first regiment of foot guards, in the order they were to file off after each other; a train of artillery (consisting of 15 pieces of cannon and two mortars, with the great kettle-drums belonging to the artillery on a carriage drawn by two horses), and the two companies of cannoniers and bombardiers, were drawn up in Hyde Park, near the gate towards Piccadilly; and a detachment of the second and fourth troops of horse guards was drawn up on the Parade in St. James's Park, in order to close the procession.

This disposition being made, the march was in the following manner.

The detachment of horse grenadiers; commanded by Col. Fane.

The detachment of the first and third troops of horse guards; commanded by the Lord Newburgh.

The artillery with the two companies of cannoniers and bombardiers; commanded by Col. Bourgard.

The detachment of the third regiment of foot guards; commanded by the Earl of Dunmore.

The detachment of the second regiment of foot guards; commanded by the Earl of Scarborough.

The first regiment of foot guards; in the rear of which came Major General Tatton, as major of that regiment.

The general officers; viz.

Brig. Honeywood, Brig. Crofts, Brig. Munden.

Brig. Stanwix. Brig. Bowles.

Maj. Gen. Wightman. Maj. Gen. Wade.

Lieut. Gen. Macartney. Lieut. Gen. Wills.

The Earl of Cadogan, general and commander in chief of his majesty's forces, master general of the ordnance, and colonel of the first regiment of foot guards; attended by

Col. Otway, as quarter-master general (in the place of Col. Armstrong, who, being surveyor general of the ordnance, was obliged to attend at the Tower); Col. Williamson, adjutant general;

and

and by his Lordship's six aides de camp :

Col. Manning.

Col. Husk.

Col. Morton.

Col. Morgan.

Col. Macartney.

Lord Carmichael.

They were followed by the eldest company of grenadiers of the first regiment of guards.

All the officers were in such close mourning as the military profession admits ; the colours furled and wrapped in cypress, the drums and kettle-drums covered with black baize and scutcheons, the trumpets covered with cypress and having banners of the arms of the deceased, the officers and soldiers bearing their several arms turned in a funeral posture.

Next came, on foot, the porter of the Heralds office in a gown of cloth, with a black staff in his hand.

Eight conductors in like gowns, with black staves in their hands.

Out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, in number 73 (answerable to the years of his Grace's age), in like gowns, with the badge of his Grace's crest on one arm ; two and two.

Trumpets and kettle-drums on horseback, having banners with the same arms as on the following standard.

The standard on a lance carried by Major Gardiner, supported by two officers in their military mourning.

A mourning horse covered with black cloth, caparisoned with the same arms as on the standard, with plumades before and behind, led by a groom on foot.

Forty persons in mourning cloaks, on horseback, two and two.

Trumpets, having banners with the same arms as the following guidon.

Rouge Croix pursuivant of arms.

The guidon on a lance, carried by Major Keightley, supported by two officers in their military mourning.

The second mourning horse, covered with black cloth, caparisoned with the same arms as on the guidon, with plumades, led by a groom on foot.

Forty persons in mourning cloaks, on horseback.

Trumpets having banners with the same arms as the banner of Woodstock.

Rouge Dragon pursuivant of arms.

The banner of Woodstock on a lance, carried by Lieutenant Colonel Purcell, supported by two officers in their military mourning.

The third mourning horse, covered with black cloth, caparisoned with the same arms as on that banner, with plumades, led by a groom on foot.

Trumpets having banners of the deceased as a Prince of the Empire.

Blue Mantle pursuivant of arms.

His Grace's banner as Prince of the Empire, on a lance carried by Lieutenant Colonel Petit, supported by two officers in their military mourning.

The fourth mourning horse, covered with cloth, caparisoned with the arms of Prince of the Empire, with plumades, led by a groom on foot.

Forty persons in mourning cloaks, on horseback.

Mr. Smith, secretary to the deceased.

The Reverend Mr. James and Mr. Cole, chaplains to the deceased.

Two trumpets in his Majesty's livery, with banners of the order of the Garter.

Portcullis pursuivant of arms.

The banner of the order of the Garter, on a lance, carried by Colonel Pendelbury, supported by two officers in their military mourning.

The fifth mourning horse, covered with black cloth, caparisoned with the same arms as on the banner of the Garter, with plumades, led by a groom on foot.

Forty persons in mourning cloaks, on horseback.

Mr. Hodges, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Humphreys, Mr. Pitts, chamberlain, steward, treasurer, and comptroller, to the deceased, with the white staves of their offices, a-breast.

Three trumpets in his Majesty's livery, having banners with the same arms as on the great banner.

Chester Herald of arms.

The great banner of his Grace's full arms, on a lance, carried by Colonel Hopkey, supported by two officers in their military mourning.

The chief mourning horse, covered with velvet, caparisoned with the said arms, led by an equerry, assisted by a groom.

The spurs,

and

The gauntlets,

Helmet and crest, carried by Lancaster herald of arms.

The targe,

and

The sword,

} carried by Somerset herald of arms.

} carried by Windsor herald of arms.

His Grace's furcoat of arms, carried by Norroy king of arms.

The body, with the suit of armour, &c. as on the bed of state, in an open chariot, with Mr. Ridley and Mr. Mitchel, two officers of his Grace's bed-chamber, sitting at the head and feet, in close mourning, bare-headed. The chariot had four columns, which bore up a black velvet canopy lined with black taffety, with deep gold fringe, and tassels at each corner; on the top were several black plumes, with trophies of war intermixed; the lower part of the chariot was adorned on both sides with several shields, representing his Grace's victories and conquests, under which was a scroll, with this motto, *Bello hæc & plura*. The chariot was drawn by eight horses covered with velvet, the two first horses caparisoned with the arms of his Grace as Prince of the Empire; the next two with his Grace's full arms surrounded with the Garter, with the supporters, surmounted with the ducal coronet; the next two with the same arms as the first; and the two next his body, with his full arms surrounded with the Garter as before. On each side of the said chariot were five captains, in their military mourning, each carrying a bannerol of the arms of the descent and lineage of the deceased; each of the eight horses were led by a groom, the coachman in deep mourning.

Immediately after the chariot came a horse of state, caparisoned with cloth of gold, led with a silken rein by Captain Read, his Grace's master of the horse, in his military mourning, walking on foot, assisted by two groomsmen on foot.

Garter king of arms, with the rod of his office in his right hand, and as director of the funeral.

His Grace the Duke of Montagu, chief mourner, in deep mourning, with the collar of the order of the Garter and the star of the order on his cloak, in a coach; Sir Robert Rich, his trainbearer, sitting over against him.

The Earls of Sunderland and Godolphin, in the next coach, as being supporters to the chief mourner.

In five other coaches followed,

The Duke of Somerset,

The Duke of Newcastle,
Lord Chamberlain.

The Duke of Grafton.

The Duke of Cleveland.

The Duke of Montrose,

The Duke of St. Alban's.

The Duke of Dorset,

The Duke of Kent.

The Earl of Stafford,

The Earl of Peterborough.

All (except the Duke of Montrose) having their collars and stars as knights of the Garter. These ten being assistants to the chief mourner.

In the two next coaches came,

The Earl of Cardigan, The Earl of Leicester,
The Earl of Bristol, The Earl of Burlington.

Who were to support the pall in the church.

A horse of honour, richly caparisoned, led with a silken reign by Captain Fish, in his military mourning, walking on foot, assisted by two grooms on foot.

His Majesty's coach,

His royal highness the Prince of Wales's coach.

Then followed the coaches of the nobility, &c. according to their several precedencies and degrees.

Being arrived at the West door of the Abbey of Westminster, only those persons who bore the standard, guidon, and banners above-mentioned, and their supporters, as also the heralds, with his Grace's secretary, two chaplains, and his four white-staff officers, and those who carried the bannerols, entered the church. The chariot coming to the door, the armour was taken off; the body was carried into the church and rested near the entrance, while the chief mourner, his supporters and assistants, the pall-bearers, and the nobility and others attending, alighted out of their coaches, the organ playing during that time. Having all entered into the church, a velvet canopy being held over the body, and the pall-bearers having taken up the corners of the pall, the prebendaries in their rich copes, and the choir in their surplices, placed themselves after the great banner, and before the heralds who carried the trophies, and sung the sentence in the office of burial, "I am the resurrection and the life," with the two following sentences, and continued singing till the body was placed in King Henry the VIIth's chapel.

Garter king of arms.

The chief mourner, with his two supporters, Sir Robert Rich bearing his train.

The ten assistants.

The nobility according to their several precedencies.

In this manner they proceeded through the South aisle of the church till they came near to the choir; and then crossing into the North aisle went up to King Henry the VIIth's chapel, where the body was rested on a stand prepared for it in the middle of the area: the pall-bearers were seated on stools at each corner of the body; at the head the chief mourner, with his two supporters, one on each hand; and his ten assist-

ants

ants were seated five on each side of the body; the nobility placing themselves in the stalls. During the whole solemnity in the church, and also in this chapel, the bannerols were held over the body.

An altar, by the Dean's order, was erected at the head of King Henry the VIIth's tomb. After the body was set down in the chapel, an anthem was performed with vocal and instrumental music, the performers being placed on a scaffold, hung from top to bottom with mourning, erected for that purpose cross the chapel at the entrance.

The anthem being ended, the body was carried to a vault at the foot of King Henry the VIIth's tomb, the choir singing "Man that is born of a woman," and the three following sentences, and continued singing them till the body was deposited in the vault. Then Dr. Atterbury, the Lord Bishop of Rochester, as Dean of Westminster, in his cope, read, "Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God," &c. Then the choir sung, "I heard a voice from Heaven," &c.

The service being ended, Garter king of arms proclaimed the style of the deceased; and then his Grace's officers, breaking their staves, delivered the pieces to Garter, who threw them in upon the coffin.

During the procession, and till the body was deposited, the guns at the Tower fired, one every minute.

The detachments of the horse grenadiers and of the first and third troops of horse guards, having passed by the West door of the Abbey, went through Tothil-street to Buckingham-house, and, entering St. James's Park at the gate there, marched to the Parade, and drew up. The artillery, with the two companies of cannoniers and bombardiers, made the same march, and drew up also on the parade. The detachments of the third and of the second regiment of foot-guards, and the first regiment of foot-guards, having marched by the said abbey door, passed through Queen's-square into St. James's Park, and drew up on the Parade. The detachments of the second and fourth troops of horse-guards, commanded by the Lord Forrester (which closed the procession), after they came to the said abbey door, returned by the way they went, marched into St. James's Park through the great gate at the Horse-guards, and drew up also on the Parade.

All the troops and artillery being drawn up on the Parade in St. James's Park, at a signal given them that the body was deposited, fired three volleys. Then they returned to the camp in Hyde Park, the horse first, and the foot next, and after them the artillery.

N^o IV.

P. 201. See a letter of the Dutchess of Buckingham in vol. III. dated April 26, 1734; and the "Illustrations" there referred to.

N^o V.

P. 230. The debate in the House of Lords, for which the Reader has been referred to this place, may be seen in the "Illustrations" at the end of the third volume, N^o II.

N^o VI.

P. 231. Walter Titley, Esq. was admitted a king's scholar at Westminster 1714; elected to Cambridge 1719. Whilst he was a king's scholar, he was much befriended by Bishop Atterbury, who chose him for his son's tutor*, in which capacity he resided in the Bishop's family about the time of the supposed plot in 1722. From Westminster Mr. Titley went off to Trinity College, Cambridge, in which he for many years held the lay-fellowship founded for a civilian. He was early in life (1730) sent envoy extraordinary to the court of Copenhagen, where he died, after a long residence, very highly esteemed on account of his many amiable qualities. Of his productions as an author, which were rather little elegant trifles than elaborate performances, a good specimen may be seen in his celebrated "Imitation of Horace," Book IV. Ode 2; and some of his Latin verses are in the "Reliquiæ Galeanæ." He bequeathed a sum of money to the University of Cambridge, part of which was to be applied to the public buildings. This sum in 1768, when Sir James Marriott, master of Trinity Hall, was vice-chancellor, was voted to erect a Music-room, of which a plan was engraved, to solicit a further aid from contributions, but failed of success. It would have given us pleasure to have added more particular memoirs of this ingenious gentleman, of whom so little in the biographical way has yet been said. His character shall be given in the words of an intelligent Prelate: "Among the contemporaries with Bishop Newton at Westminster were many who made afterwards a distinguished figure in the

* Mr. Le Hunt was afterwards young Atterbury's tutor at Christ Church. See above, p. 280.

“ world. Among these the Bishop particularly notices Wal-
 “ ter Titley. a very ingenious young man, at first Secretary
 “ to the embassy at Turin, afterwards for many years his
 “ Majesty’s Envoy to the court of Denmark. During the
 “ time that he was King’s scholar, he lived with Bishop At-
 “ terbury as tutor to his son; and his taste and learning were
 “ much improved by the Bishop’s conversation. His plan
 “ of life, as laid down by himself, was, to prosecute his stu-
 “ dies at Cambridge till he should be thirty, from thirty to
 “ sixty to be employed in public business, at sixty to retire
 “ and return to college, for which purpose he would keep
 “ his fellowship. This plan he nearly pursued; he kept his
 “ fellowship; he resigned his public employment; but, in-
 “ stead of returning to college, where in a great measure there
 “ were a new society, and few or none were left of his own
 “ age and standing, he remained at Copenhagen, where, by
 “ his long residence, he was in a manner naturalized, and
 “ there lived and died, greatly respected and lamented by all
 “ ranks of people.”

Nº VII.

P. 276. Whatever may be thought of Bishop Atterbury’s
 Politicks; there cannot be a second opinion in respect to his
 unrivaled talents. His fame, as a Divine, an Orator, and a
 polite Scholar, preceded all his travels abroad, wherever he
 went in his exile. The Doctors of the Sorbonne well weighed
 the great achievement and mighty acquisition which would
 attend their bringing over this great man to their com-
 munion. In order to this, they sent a select deputation
 to the Bishop, to invite his Lordship to a conference on the
 subject of the differences between the Protestant and
 Catholic churches, hoping to convince him of the fin-
 fulness of dissension from their apostolic faith. The Bishop
 received them with all the politeness of an accomplished
 Gentleman, and the dignity of a Prelate. He assented to
 their motion; and time and place were soon appointed for
 holding this conference, intended to proselyte so great a man.
 The Doctors and his Lordship assembled; the points to be
 debated, and the authority for their determination, began to
 be agitated. The Bishop, with that strength of argument and
 beauty of eloquence he always possessed, urged, that the Bible
 must

must be their sole and ultimate guide; to which the deputation assented. His Lordship then demanded what edition of the Bible they would abide by, for that a vast number of Bibles had been authorized by divers Popes and Councils, in opposition to one another. This so confounded these Reverend Doctors, that they could not unanimously fix on one infallible edition of the Bible. Upon this, Dr. Atterbury told them, there was an end of the pretended Infallibility of their Church; and the mortified Catholics retired, leaving the good Bishop to live and die in their country within the pale of his own Protestant Church, as he did, like a true son of it; and as in his younger days he had from the pulpit at St. Bride's Church solemnly engaged to do. See the fourth volume of this Collection, p. 128; and see in vol. III. a treatise intituled, "Bishop Atterbury's Legacy to all true Englishmen."

N^o VIII.

P. 316. The following Dedication was prefixed to Mr. Swinden's "Enquiry into the Nature and Place of Hell, 1714," 8vo; reprinted in 1726.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, Francis, by Divine Permission, Lord Bishop of Rochester, and Dean of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter's in Westminster.

MY LORD,

[1714.]

THE providence of God having committed to your Lordship's care the government of his Church in the Diocese to which I belong*, I think myself obliged to make an humble present of this treatise to your Lordship, not as worthy of your acceptance in itself, but as a true and unfeigned testimony of that respect and duty, which, as one of your Clergy, I owe your Lordship.

It is the manner of great and good men to descend sometimes beneath themselves, and to receive as kindly the mean and homely entertainments of their poorer neighbours, provided they do not pretend to any thing above their sphere, as the noble and costly feasts of their wealthy friends.

My Lord, this encourageth me to hope, that your Lordship, in whom those titles eminently meet, will, at least,

* He was rector of Cuxton in Kent; and published two Sermons 1713, 1716.

pardon the attempt of this address; which is made by one, who ingenuously acknowledgeth himself too poor to manage an argument of this nature with that fund of learning and accuracy it deserves; and who therefore chuseth rather to set before your Lordship a plain dish, than in vain to attempt to please your nice and curious palate with the varieties and delicacies of a full, artificial treat.

My Lord, I wrote the following discourse in a very obscure retirement, where I have spent much of my time, and where I had not an opportunity of consulting any public library; and therefore, my domestic charge being too great to suffer me, with my little income, to buy books, it will be no wonder if this appears like the Sketch, or rather the very first Lineaments of a Picture, whose Vacuities are left to be filled up, and its Graces, Air, and Life-touches, to be given by some more masterly hand.

It is possible the conjecture, which was the occasion of the whole, and is the subject of a great part of it, may have been proposed to the world before now; but that is more than I know of; and certainly, if it had, even in my small acquaintance with books and men, I should have met with some intimation of it.

But, why do I plead novelty, when, perhaps, that will be thought its fault, and it will be condemned purely upon that account? If so, I must say it will meet with a very odd censure, since novelty seems to be of the essence of a conjecture, so that it is mere nonsense to propose one without it. If reason be not wanting, the newer the thought is, the better; nor indeed, except it be such, will it be tolerable. What can be more ridiculous than to pretend to discoveries of things which have been already so often discussed, that they are become trite and thread-bare? The only material thing then is, whether the subject of the present conjecture be serious or trifling, whether it be built on a sound or weak foundation, whether it be treated of in a clear or confused method, and delivered in a familiar or harsh style: all which is, with great deference, entirely submitted to your Lordship's judgement.

In seeking out for Origen's opinion I was forced to use, though at the same time I was sensible it is not wholly to be relied upon, Rufinus's interpretation of his books *περὶ Ἀρχῶν*; because the more authentic original is not now to be met with. However, in the main, I suppose it exactly the same that St. Austin doth, and some of our excellent modern authors,

authors, Bishop Pearson, Dr. Brown, and others, who have occasionally spoken of it.

But I forget to whom I address this : I recall myself therefore ; and, asking your pardon for it, I humbly assure your Lordship, that as I join with the Diocese in offering up our hearty thanks to God, that, in the room of that most excellent Bishop whom he hath lately taken from us to himself, he hath been pleased to place over us a Prelate, whose consummate endowments peculiarly qualify him to fill the chair after that great and celebrated person ; so I humbly implore the Divine Majesty, that he will bless all your labours for the good of this National Church, and continue your Lordship, what you have, with eminent distinction, hitherto approved yourself, a glorious instrument of its prosperity and welfare. And in recompence for this, that he will pour down upon you the blessings both of his right hand and of his left ; that he will enrich you with all temporal favours the heart of man can desire ; above all, that he will give you increase of grace and piety in this life, and, at length, make you perfect and compleat with “ the great Bishop of our souls ” in the world to come.

This is the daily and earnest prayer of, my Lord, your Lordship’s most obedient son, and most humble servant,

TOBIAS SWINDEN.

N^o IX.

P. 340. Peter Francis Des Fontaines was born of a good family at Rouen in 1685. At fifteen, he entered into the society of the Jesuits ; and, at thirty, quitted it, for the sake of returning to the world. He was a priest, and had a cure in Normandy ; but left it, and was, as a man of wit and letters, some time with the Cardinal d’Auvergne. Having excited some repute at Paris by certain critical productions, the Abbé Bignon, in 1724, intrusted to him the “ *Journal des Sçavans*.” With whatever repute he might acquit himself in this undertaking, repeated disgusts made him frequently abandon it. He laboured, mean while, in conjunction with the Abbé Granet, in some new periodical works, from which he derived his greatest fame. In 1731, he began the “ *Nouvelliste du Parnasse, ou Reflexions sur les Ouvrages nouveaux* ;” but only proceeded to two volumes ; the work having been suppressed by authority, from the incessant complaints of authors ridiculed therein. About three years after, in 1735, he obtained a new privilege, for “ *Observations sur les Ecrits Modernes* ;” which, after continuing to 33 volumes, was likewise

likewise suppressed in 1743. Yet the year following, 1744, he published another weekly paper, called, "Jugemens sur les *Ouvrages nouveaux*," and proceeded to eleven volumes; the two last being done by other hands. Des Fontaines could go no further; for, in 1745, he was attacked with a disorder in the breast, which in five weeks time carried him off. "He was," says M. Freron, "born a sentimental person; a philosopher in conduct, as well as in principle; exempt from ambition; and of a noble spirit, which would not submit to sue for preferments or titles. In common conversation, he appeared only a common man; but when subjects of literature, or any thing out of the common way, were agitated, he discovered great force of imagination and wit." Besides the periodical works mentioned above, he was the author of many others: his biographer gives us no less than seventeen articles; many of them critical, some historical, a translation of Virgil, 4 volumes, 8vo; and some from English writers, chiefly from Pope, Swift, Fielding, &c. The Abbé de la Porte published, in 1757, "*L'Esprit de l'Abbé des Fontaines*," in four volumes, 12mo; at the head of which is the Life of Des Fontaines, a catalogue of his works, and another catalogue of writings against him. His associate the Abbé Granet (who died in 1741, aged 49) was also editor of several volumes of the "*Bibliothèque Française*;" of the "*Works of Launoi*, 1731," 10 volumes, folio; and author of the Life of Launoi, and a valuable little volume under the title of "*Launoiana*." From what is said by the French writer cited below *, compared with a character of him from

* In the "*Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique*, Paris, 1772," our Bishop's life and character are thus concisely delineated: "ATTERBURY (FR.), naquit à Middleton, dans la province de Buckingham, en 1662. Ses premières études faites aux collèges de Westminster & d'Oxford, annonçerent ses talens. Dès l'âge de 22 ans, il mit en beaux vers Latins l'Abfalom & l'Architophel de Dryden. En 1687, année de son Doctorat †, il écrivit une savante Apologie pour Martin Luther, contre les Catholiques Romains. Le Roi Guillaume le fit son Chapelain. Il eut la même charge sous la Reine Anne, fut Doyen de Westminster, & Evêque de Rochester, en 1713. Après la mort de cette Princesse, Atterbury s'étant déclaré pour le Prétendant, fut enfermé dans la Tour de Londres, en 1722, & banni l'année suivante du Royaume. Cet Evêque, retiré en France, fut le conseil & l'ami des gens de lettres; il s'entretint par son érudition & par son goût, & aimait par sa politesse & les agrémens de son commerce. Il mourut à Paris, en 1732, âgé de 71 ans. On a de lui: I. Des Sermons en Anglois. II. Des Lettres Latines, dignes des meilleurs Littérateurs. III. Des Réflexions sur le caractère de Iapis dans Virgile. On peut voir un long extrait de cette dissertation à la fin du Virgile de l'Abbé Des Fontaines."

† He commenced M. A. in 1687, but was not D. D. till 1701

the Daily Post *, it is probable that many valuable Letters by Atterbury might still be obtained in France. He certainly corresponded with Rollin, Des Fontaines, and Granet.

N^o X.

The following character of Lord HARCOURT, (see p. 12.) is from an inedited MS. of Macky.

“ He is of a very ancient and good family in Berkshire [Oxfordshire]; always remarkable for its loyalty to the crown, and its aversion to presbytery. After some years study at Oxford, this gentleman went to the Temple, and made so great a progress in the law, that he was scarce sooner admitted to plead than admired for his pleading.

“ He was one of Dr. Sacheverell’s counsel, and so distinguished himself in his admirable defence of that gentleman, that even his enemies must own, that he is not only one of the best lawyers, but one of the best orators also of this age.

“ Her Majesty, being present at this trial, could not but be extremely pleased with one who with so much zeal and strength vindicated her prerogative, and asserted the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance at a time when the House of Commons judged neither of them lawful or necessary.

“ On the turning-out of my Lord Cowper, this gentleman was made lord chancellor and lord keeper; and though his predecessor was scarce to be exceeded in a discharge of that trust, yet we may not unjustly say, that he was at least equalled by the successor. He was created a peer by Queen Anne, and continued chancellor during that princess’s reign.

“ On the accession of King George to the British throne, this gentleman was dismissed from all his employments, and they were restored to my Lord Cowper.

“ He is a fair lusty man; has been handsome; he has so much learning and eloquence, and so sweet a delivery, that he may not improperly be styled a second Cicero; is extremely generous and good-humoured; has been extravagant, but is now grave, and lives within bounds; hard study, and too much fatiguing himself in his business, have both spoiled his eyes and his constitution. He is about sixty years old.”

N^o XI.

B. 370. See an account of the FRIENDS among the epitaphs in the third volume.

N^o XII.

P. 381. For further particulars of the Duke of Wharton, see p. 414; and vol. III. p. 110.

* See this in our third volume, dated July 17, 1737.

